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**‘We don’t need the state’
a study of the habitus formation process, through
school choice, in the Peru’s rising middle class**

A qualitative study of school choice

Volume 1 of 1

Maria Pilar Sanz Gutiérrez

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Education

September 2014

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Abstract

This research investigates the reasons why there is so little public expenditure on education in Peru at a time when the economy has been growing very rapidly. Although different possible causes have been identified, the study focuses on the role played by Peru's rising middle class (RMC) with its increasing opting out of state services in education as a complementary hypothesis. Drawing on the multilevel explanatory scheme proposed by Bourdieu, who makes explicit the connections between system properties, the nature of habituated dispositions to act held by social members, and the effective practices they adopt (Nash 2010), the study explores how the disposition (habitus) to assume individual responsibility in the provision of education services has been formed in a sample of RMC families that have chosen private schools for their children.

I argue that the structures of RMC life, specifically their historical relationship with the Peruvian state characterized by its weak and exclusionary practices, the political and economic neoliberalism that has prevailed in the last decade, has influenced the adoption of the RMC's rejection of state education through the incorporation of a dominant 'common sense' in relation to the withdrawal of the state as guarantor of education provision, and this social group's view of itself as self-enterprising citizens. The research found that the assumption of this RMC position has also been strongly influenced by the rapid transformation of this rising sector characterized by upward social mobility, where the preference for private schools strengthens their position within a highly segmented social hierarchy.

A diverse range of conceptual tools are utilised mainly from Bourdieu's theoretical framework, with habitus as the central explanatory concept and its interaction with the concepts of capital and field, for a better understanding of school choice and class formation processes. Likewise, the research explores the potential of the Foucauldian approach to structuring subjectivities, expressed in his concept of governmentality, to explain the effect of the prevalence of a neo-liberal discourse in the construction of habitus. The study is qualitative using discussion groups and in-depth interviews with a sample of Peruvian RMC parents in order to explore the habitus formation process. An intergenerational perspective that takes into account the narratives of educational trajectories of RMC grandparents, parents and children offers a unique opportunity for a dynamic study of the process of structuring and re-structuring of habitus for education provision that shows relative malleability throughout this group's trajectory. In turn, the use of a comparative approach regarding two fractions of the rising group allows us to arrive at an understanding of the field as a whole.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Since 2001 the Peruvian state has played an important role in fuelling continuous economic growth, mainly through the application of neoliberal institutional reforms and economic policies. Significant advances in the adoption of fiscal and monetary policies that ensure macroeconomic stability as well as the promotion of open markets, free trade and the reorientation of industrial and agricultural production towards exports have been achieved. The country has had an average growth of 5.7% per annum during this period (ECLAC 2012) and is a growing economy, being ranked third top emerging market in the world (Bloomberg, 2012). However, as Vergara (2013:45) points out, "in recent years in which so many aspects of Peruvian life have prospered, education has gradually but severely deteriorated. The Peruvian economic leap, poverty reduction, the sophistication of its economy and the new needs of a dynamic market have not gone hand in hand with a substantial improvement in education".

Economic growth has not benefited education where the Peruvian state has been less active in promoting educational improvement than might be expected in this context of increased prosperity (Cotlear 2006, Montero et al. 2009, Drinot 2011, Jaramillo & Silva-Jauregui 2011, Vergara 2013 and Balarin 2014). In fact, average expenditure on education has been 2.8% of GDP during the last decade despite the significant increase in economic growth¹ (ECLAC 2012), and it is currently very far from the 6% of GDP established as National Policy. In a ranking of the World Bank (2011), although Peru ranks 15 (out of 144) in relation to school enrolment for ages 6 to 18, it also ranks 118 in relation to public spending on education.

Peru started the new millennium with high achievements in terms of access to school education (with the exception of pre-school education), but with very poor progress in quality

¹ It was also lower than Latin America's public expenditure average during the same period (2001-2010), which was 5.2% of GDP (UNESCO 2013); and it was lower than the public expenditure average of other two Latin American countries - Chile (4.2%) and Brazil (5.8%) - which Annual Growth Rates of Per Capita GDP average has increased less than Peru in that period: Peru 7.5%, Brazil 6.6% and Chile 4.2% respectively (ECLAC, 2012)

and equity, both being critical factors to ensure sustainable development, contribute towards social cohesion and improve country competitiveness. Quality indicators from, among other sources, the National Assessment of Compulsory Education (ECE) show that only 33% of Peruvian students in second grade primary school achieve satisfactory performance in language and just 16.8% achieve similar performance in mathematics (ECE 2013). These results vary depending on geographical area, where only an abysmal 10.4% of students from rural schools achieve satisfactory performance in language, while 6.5% do so in mathematics. There are also differences according to the type of school administration system. In private schools 47.3% of students achieve satisfactory performance in language, and 19.6% in mathematics² (UMC-MED 2013). These results reveal both the poor quality and the high inequality of the educational system.

Several possible causes have been identified to understand this paradox of how, at a time when the economy is growing very rapidly, there is both such little public expenditure and lack of substantive intervention in education. These causes include the following: the role of the state and its limited ability to raise taxes and where, given a high degree of clientelism, this tax revenue is spent; the lack of priority given to skill formation in a country where the quality of a nation's education and training system is not yet seen to hold the key to future economic prosperity³; and problems inherent in the Peruvian education sector such as the radical discontinuity in the implementation of educational policies, its inefficiency and high levels of corruption. Several studies have been carried out in relation to these possible causes, and most of them focus on the supply side: the role of the state in the management of social policies and as provider of social services (Balarin 2006, Unicef-Apoyo 2006, Montero et al. 2009, Thorp and Paredes 2010, Oliart 2011).

In order to complete the picture, I decided to explore the demand side. If the Peruvian State has not been exerting an appropriate role in the provision of education services, what has been the reaction on the side of demand? Unlike other countries, where the middle class has put pressure on the state (Ball, 2003, Loayza et al. 2012) to improve the quality of education through national elections or the activism of parent-teacher associations or local school board elections, in Peru no social class has had a pivotal role in advancing the cause of better education. Likewise, in the last few decades, although different civil society

² In a similar trend, the results of PISA 2009 show that 35% of Peruvian students achieved a satisfactory level (level 2) occupying last place among the Latin American countries. Moreover, the probability of achieving this level varies considerably regarding quartiles of population: 62% for quartile 4 (richest) and 9% for quartile 1 (poorest). This is one of the highest gaps in Latin America (OCDE 2010)

³ In notorious contrast with rising Asian countries where education has been considered a forefront policy in their emerging process

institutions and organizations and teacher unions have constantly demanded improvements in education, their political action and influence has been rather limited. Politicians and education technocrats have also had a relatively active role but focused on the implementation of very specific or focused measures (teachers' careers, literacy campaign, national assessments, for example). In conclusion, a strong and decisive impulse in terms of an articulated demand for improvements in education has not occurred.

When exploring the weak role exerted by the demand side to call for improvements in the educational system, I focused my interest on the main users of educational services: the families. As in many other countries, the upper and upper middle class have for long been traditional and automatic choosers of private schooling, opting for elite private schools. Since they are not involved with state education they do not exert any kind of pressure for it to improve. Although the majority of Peruvian families send their children to state schools – 74.3% of the enrolment in basic education is public while 25.6% is private (ESCALE Ministry of Education, 2013) – an important phenomenon has been occurring in school education in the last decade: a significant migration from state to private education, especially prevalent among rising middle class (RMC) families.

In consonance with the Latin American phenomenon of middle class expansion, the last decade has seen the rise and consolidation of an emerging middle class in Peru. They have emerged from poverty and currently constitute approximately 30% of the population⁴. The rising middle class is essentially made up of migrants from the provinces who came to the cities, especially Lima the capital, between the 1960s and 1970s. They occupied the periphery of the cities and began a process of economic accumulation between the 1980s and 1990s using individual initiative to develop small family businesses resorting to the informal economy and self-employment (Weyland 1996, Varillas 1997, Tapia 1997, Toche et al. 2003, Osorio 2006). They have significantly expanded during the last decade through a rapid process of ascendant social mobility and their contribution to the GNP has progressively increased⁵ (Paren & Castellani 2009 in Tuesta 2010). Their successful trajectory is generally attributed to individual effort and an entrepreneurial attitude supported

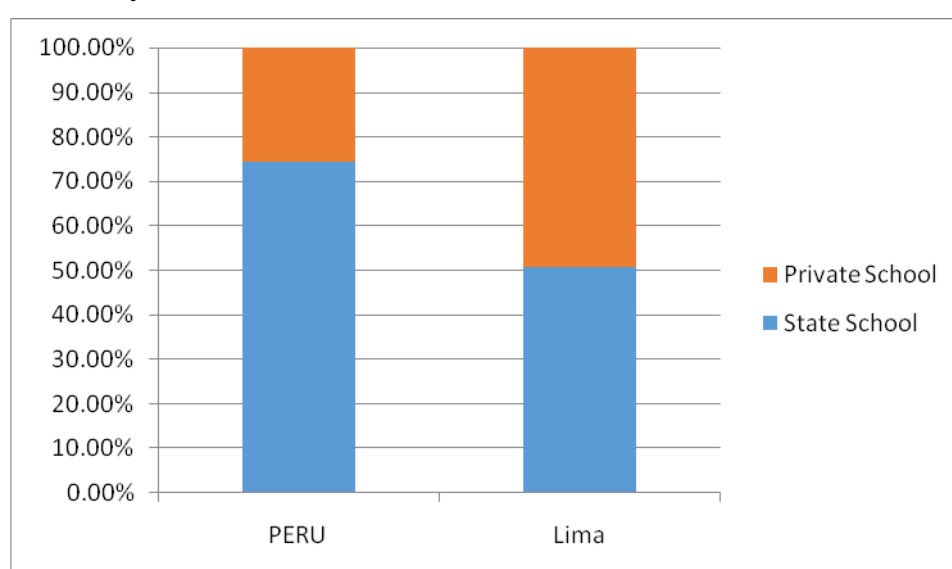
⁴ At present there is a strong debate in the country about both the definition and the ways of measuring the middle class in general, and the rising middle class in particular. This will be subsequently discussed.

⁵ The phenomenon of middle class expansion is a common pattern in the Latin American region and is part of a global trend (Wilson and Dragusanu 2008, Franco y Leon 2010, Francisco et al. 2012). In the Peruvian case this expansion has meant, in some cases, the transition from informal to formal entrepreneurs, or to becoming dependent workers in different sectors (state, private, NGOs). However, in general, the informality rate remains high (60.9% of GDP according to the Lima Chamber of Commerce, although the percentage attributed to the RMC is not known)

by family and kinship networks. They have always considered education as a crucial factor to achieve social mobility (Varillas 1997, Yanaylle 1997, Pedraglio 2003, Toche 2009).

It is precisely in this social sector that the massive flight from state to private education has occurred in the last decade. While the first two generations (grandparents and parents) that constitute this emerging sector were traditional users of state education, the third generation (children) has been migrating to private education. Moreover, the private offer has grown continuously thanks to a regulatory framework that has promoted investment and the liberalization of the education market for more than 15 years (Legislative Decree 882, enacted in 1996). This phenomenon occurs mainly in Lima, which is home to 30% of the national population, and is the main centre of development of this emerging class. As can be seen in graph 1 below, state and private school enrolment varies significantly between Lima and the national level:

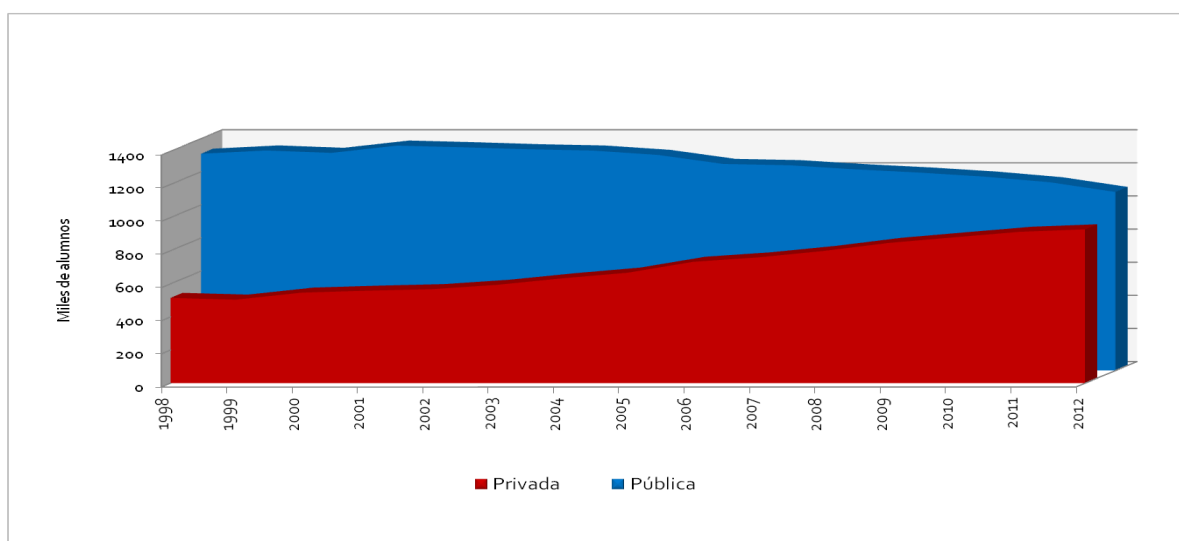
Graph 1: State and Private Enrolment in School Education



Source: Statistics of Ministry of Education ESCALE, own elaboration 2013

From an evolutionary perspective, graph 2 shows the rapid growth in private enrolment in Lima between 1998 and 2012 in inverse correspondence with the accelerated decrease in state enrolment:

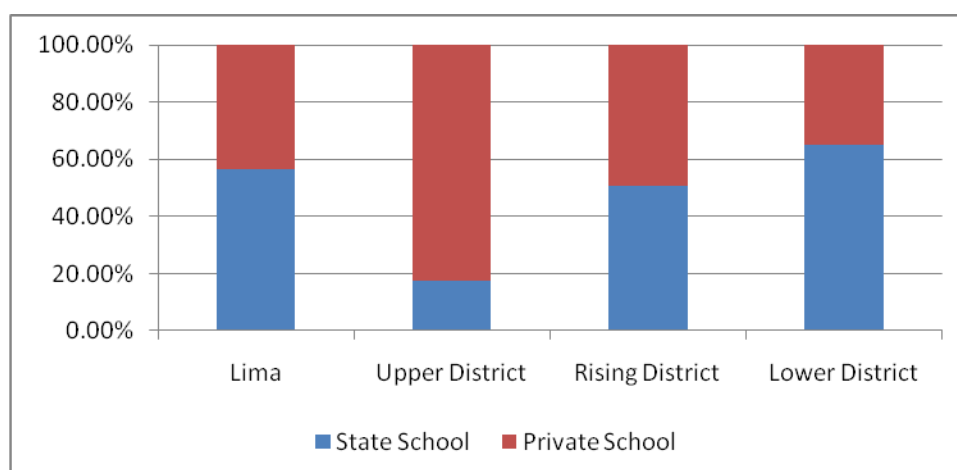
Graph 2: Evolution of State and Private Enrolment in School Education in Lima 1998-



Taken from: Cuenca (2013) (Miles de alumnos) Thousands of students

When the distribution of enrolment is considered by districts, it can be seen that the transfer to private education is mainly associated with the emerging sector, although not exclusively. Graph 3 shows that the most established districts (with a higher proportion of upper and upper middle class households) have, as has always been the case, high percentages of private school enrolment, while in the poorest districts enrolment remains mostly in state schools. However, in emerging districts private education currently slightly exceeds state enrolment.

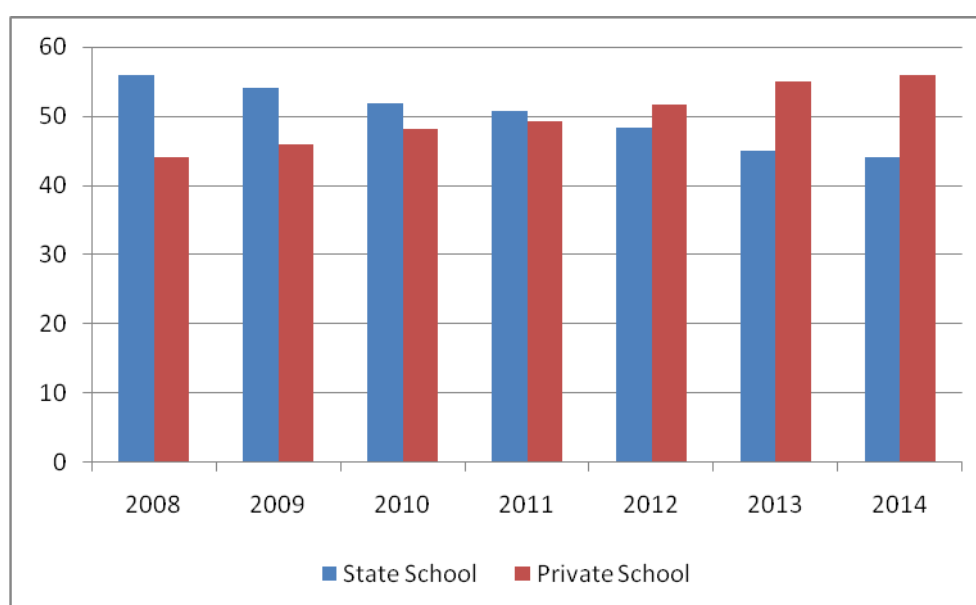
Graph 3: Distribution of State and Private Enrolment by Districts



Source: Statistics of Ministry of Education ESCALE, own elaboration 2012

Focusing on emerging districts and regarding a longitudinal perspective, graph 4 shows the sustained growth of private enrolment in a sample of emerging districts in Lima between 2008 and 2013 as evidence of the progressive migration of RMC to private education⁶.

Graph 4: Evolution of State and Private Enrolment in Emerging Districts in Lima 2008-2014

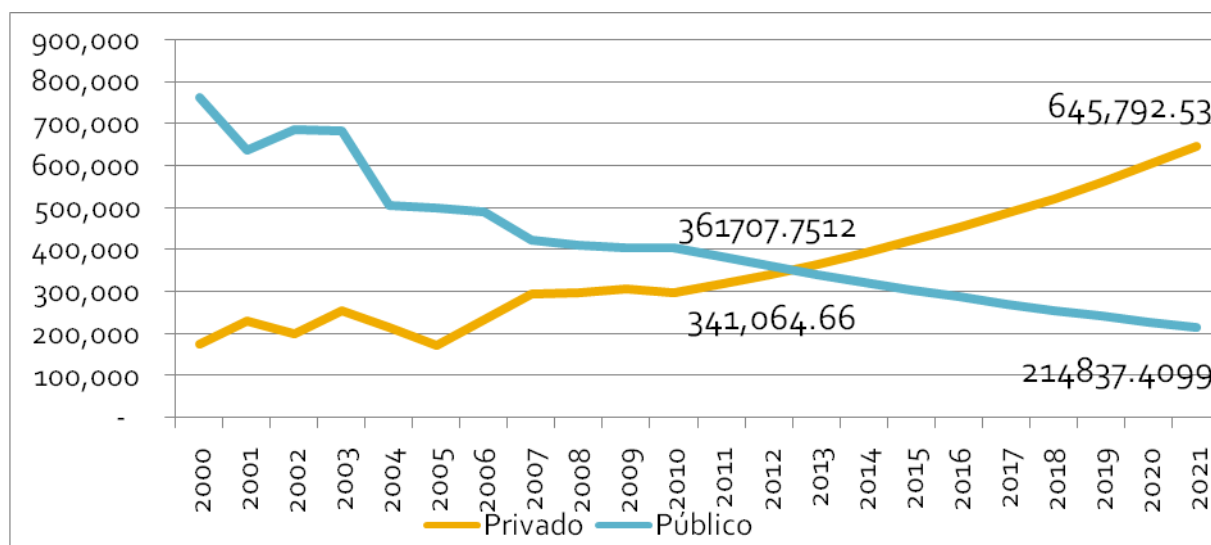


Source: Statistics of Ministry of Education ESCALE, own elaboration 2015

Also, in a recent study, Cuenca (2013) includes a projection of state and private enrolment in Primary Education to 2021 in Lima where it is possible to appreciate that the trend in the growth of private education is maintained at the expense of public education (see Graph 5). This is also extending to other regions in the country such as Ica, Lambayeque, Arequipa and La Libertad where private enrolment in school education fluctuated between 22.5% and 40% in 2012 (ESCALE 2013).

⁶ The sample includes three of the main emerging districts located in North Lima, these are: Los Olivos, San Martín de Porres and Carabaylo

Graph 5: Projection of state and private enrolment in Primary Education to 2012 in Lima



Taken from: Cuenca (2013) (Privado) Private / (Publico) State

In spite of the importance of this “massive” transfer from state to private schooling in the RMC, it has received little attention so far. There has been little systematic research examining parental choice, the characteristics and conditions under which the Peruvian educational market works, and the implications that this increasing option for private education has for the functioning of the educational system in general⁷. One of the main concerns of this study is how the increasing number of families who opt out of state services seems to undermine the kind of collective action that, it could be argued, is necessary to generate the sort of state commitment required to improve the state educational system. In consequence, people have more incentives to switch to private schools (Arnové et al. 2007, Balarin 2011, Bello 2011, Vergara 2013). This lack of studies that may allow a comprehensive and deep understanding of this phenomenon and which may contribute to a serious debate regarding the Peruvian education system has prompted this research. At this point it is necessary to note that the study focuses on the provision of basic education services only in Lima, where the phenomenon has emerged.

A first attempt to explain this transition would be based on the crisis in state schooling which would disqualify it as an option for the aspirations of emerging families. Certainly, the systematic neglect of the Peruvian State in the provision of a good state education reinforces this argument and also facilitates a growing sense among citizens that private is better *per*

⁷ The few studies found include Ansion et al. (1998), Navarro, J. (2002), Toche et al. (2003) and Cuenca, R. (2013)

se. As has also been mentioned, the results of the Annual National Assessment (ECE) corroborate, in general, a difference in favour of private over state schools. However, this argument which would be based on the search for a better quality school by emerging families is weakened, firstly, by the enormous heterogeneity that characterizes the private offer where you cannot assume that all private schools, merely because they exist, are good⁸. A study carried out by Ñopo (2007) about returns to private education in Peru indicates higher earnings among those who attended private schools than those who attended the state system. Nonetheless, these higher returns also show higher dispersion, reflecting wider heterogeneity within the private system. Additionally, the results of the National Assessments (ECE) have revealed that in peripheral (low-income) districts state schools performed better than private ones in two consecutive years (2012 and 2013) (UMC-MED).

Thus, although the crisis in state education definitely influences the RMC option for private education and the individual assumption of responsibility for the provision of educational services, this explanation proves insufficient. This phenomenon needs to be addressed through a broader and more comprehensive approach which involves looking at the rising middle class discourse and practice regarding private education in contrast to state education; and, also the rising middle class discourse about private education itself, exploring how this discourse and practice have emerged. At this point different questions arise: Why does this demand for private education occur in the emerging middles classes? What relation is there between the preference for private education and their process of class consolidation in a context of upward social mobility? To what extent is this option also responding to the particular relationship that this emerging sector has historically developed with an 'absent' and exclusionary State for the provision of social services? Or to what extent is this option influenced by the appropriation of a self-enterprising citizen discourse that prevails in a neo-liberal context? What are the implications of this switch from public to private education for the administration of the education system in Peru?

In order to construct a fuller understanding of this phenomenon the interpretational model of this research rests on an approximation to Bourdieu's basic analytical framework, that is, a multilevel explanatory scheme. Regarding this scheme, Nash (2002:273) argues that "to be adequate and sufficient, a social explanation requires an account in which system properties, habituated dispositions, and effective practices are all included. The analytical scheme must move, in reverse order, from the observed practices of agents, to their

⁸ It is worth noticing that the better general results in private education are amplified due to elite private schools and hide the poor performance of low quality ones

interests and intentions, and, finally, to the social structures in which they are formed” Although the theoretical architecture of the research is mainly based on Bourdeurian concepts, the study also uses an eclectic but coherent perspective to gain complementary insights within this theoretical model. As Ball (2003:2) argues, through the eclectic approach I am attempting “to define, develop and relate a set of concepts which offers a ‘perspective’ in order to understand the complex relationships” between educational choice, unequal educational systems, habitus, social class mobility, a precarious state and self-enterprising citizens. The objective is to put different theoretical constructs ‘in conversation’ with my particular cases in order to develop explanations. Using a qualitative approach with a sample of Peruvian RMC parents I examine how this phenomenon occurs.

The research begins with an understanding of a practice that is being increasingly adopted by the Peruvian RMC within the educational field, the preference for private schools. In order to do so I explore the emerging middle class families’ process of choosing schools and their discourses regarding state and private schools. For this exploration two analytic perspectives developed in the sociology of education are taken into account. Both perspectives have largely focussed on different approaches to the study of parental choice in the education market (Gewirtz et al. 1995, Hatcher 1998, Reay and Ball 1998, Lauder et al. 1999, Reay et al 2001, Ball 2003, Wu 2011). The first corresponds to a rational strategic approach that comes from the theory of social exclusion where it is assumed that social actors act in accordance with their interests and with the intention of maximizing the usefulness of their decisions. As Goldthorpe (1996 cited by Hatcher 1998:11) argues “the chief concern of families is that their children should obtain qualifications sufficient to preserve their present class position or, at the very least, to guard against any decisive downward mobility”.

On the other hand, from the culturalist perspective chiefly developed by Bourdieu, “decisions can be understood as the operation of ‘practical sense’ [...] (Bourdieu 1990b:108); that is, the mental structures and dispositions from which choices derive are generated within the habitus” (Ball 2003:16). Habitus is an embodiment of certain orientations, tastes, ways of thinking, acting, judging, perceiving and appreciating the world (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) that generates “things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say, in relation to a probable ‘upcoming’ future” (Bourdieu 1990b:53). As Weininger (2005) explains, a system of dispositions implies a view according to which actions are generated neither by explicit considerations of norms nor by rational calculation. Rather, “a dispositional understanding implies that under typical circumstances, action can proceed on a pre-reflexive basis” (Weininger 2005:91). As Ball (2003:16) affirms “this is a world of common sense and self-

evidence, that is 'intelligible, foreseeable and hence taken for granted' and 'what is and is not "for us"' (Bourdieu 1990b: 64)".

As has already been mentioned, one of the basic premises in this study is that emerging middle class families' decisions to choose private schooling would not only be made in response to the crisis in state schooling from which they seek to distance themselves so that their children may have better opportunities in the future (using a cost-benefit rationality). This choice would also be in response to a habitus or disposition that has emerged in this social sector with regard to the provision of educational services and that works as a kind of 'inertial forces' (Gambeta 1987 cited by Hatcher 1998). In consequence, the RMC's option for private schools is being incorporated as the kind of decision that is made 'automatically', 'taken-for-granted' and 'always assumed'. In relation to the complementarity between rational and culturalist perspectives, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:131) state that "the theory of habitus does not exclude strategic choice and conscious deliberation as possible routes of action (...). The lines of action suggested by the habitus may be accompanied by a strategic calculation of cost and benefits, which tends to carry out at a conscious level the operations that habitus carries out in its own way".

Regarding the second level of the explanatory scheme, I focus on the habitus as a central explanatory concept, but it is complemented by the two other concepts of Bourdieu's triad: field and capital. According to Bourdieu "the unconscious dispositions of the habitus cannot be understood without simultaneous reference to concepts of capital and field – or, more specifically, to one's position in the field generated by the intersection of economic and cultural capital" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:75). Individuals are seen to move and operate within 'fields' or arenas of action "in which particular values, processes and regulative principles 'inform and set limits on practice' (Adkins 2004:193)" (Roberts 2012:73). Additionally, capital enables people to take a position, which then interacts with their habitus within the field of social practice⁹.

Following this perspective, similar to what Ball (1997) argues, another premise on which this research rests is that private education may play a relevant role through social and cultural capital that may be accumulated and facilitate the construction of the metaphorical qualities or status and prestige for those who possess it (i.e. symbolic capital and differentiation). As Ball (1997:2) argues "aside from material advantages which might accrue from academic success, there are 'cultural profits' to be generated in the form of social cachet, access to

⁹ For example in the field of education "parents possess various form of capital, and this interacts with their habitus (or disposition) resulting in school preference for a school with particular characteristics ranging from faith-based, to size, ethos or academic status" (Walker and Clark 2010:242)

privileged social networks and the acquisition of certain cultural competences (...) In this perspective, education as a field of distinctions and identities is crucial in changing and reproducing the borderlines of class". This aspect gains special relevance regarding RMC parental choice in education as a mechanism that tends to ensure their transformation in a context of rapid ascendant social mobility. Following that, Conway (1997:1.11) argues "the practical necessity of consuming what now has become a cultural good, that is, education, allows the expression of habitus based preferences or tastes which allow for the reproduction of social groups as a whole".

At the second level of the explanatory scheme the study also focuses on how, over time, RMC parents have incorporated individual responsibility for the provision of education as a disposition, i.e., in the habitus formation process. I explore the educational trajectories of my sample of RMC families from an intergenerational view – that includes grandparents, parents and children – which shows how the disposition for the provision of education has been continually re-structured through the generations in correspondence with their process of class formation and upward social mobility. This dynamic approach to habitus is one of the biggest challenges and, I hope it makes a significant contribution to the field since the majority of studies on habitus have focused on its analysis at a particular point in time, at a conjuncture¹⁰ but not across generations.

The analysis of the habitus formation process is mainly based on three relevant aspects. First of all, the temporal element of habitus as opposed to its latent and/or inherited determinism (Nash 1999, McNay 1999, Reay 2004, Weininger 2005). Bourdieu states that "habitus is not the fate that people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structure. It is durable but not eternal!" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:133, italics in original). As O'Mahoney (2007) suggests, this frames habitus as a dynamic phenomenon, dependent on both structured subjective experiences and the opportunities presented by any particular field "enabling action to be generated from both historical experiences and the actor's reflexive consideration of future consequences" (O'Mahoney 2007: 482).

¹⁰ See: Bourdieu 1986a, Reay 1995, 1997, 2002, Rapoport and Lomsky-Feder 2002, Pickel 2005, Savage et al. 2005, O'Mahoney 2007, Sweetman 2009, Harris and Wise 2012, Lehmann 2014

The second aspect is related to the ‘collective understanding’ of habitus (Reay 2004:434). According to Bourdieu (1990), the habitus is differentially formed according to each actor’s position in social space. As Skeggs (2004) explains “by way of their immersion within particular socio-cultural contexts individuals come to embody a habitus with the marks of social position and social distance – a habitus which is the product of a positioning within the social structure of society” (Skeggs 2004 cited by Roberts 2012:72). In a similar way, Reay (2004:434) refers to habitus as a compilation of collective and individual trajectories, where “a person’s individual history is constitutive of habitus, but so also is the whole collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of”. Moreover, the author adds a temporal element when affirming that “individuals contain within themselves their past and present position in the social structure ‘at all times and in all places, in the forms of dispositions which are so many marks of social position’ (Bourdieu 1990b:82)” (Reay 2004:434). This complex interplay between past and present is the last aspect of habitus considered for the analysis (Reay 2004). As Roberts (2012) argues, the habitus is cumulative and creative, permeable and responsive to what is going on around agents. In this way, “although the habitus is a product of early childhood experience, and in particular socialization within the family, it is continually re-structured by individuals’ encounters with the outside world” (Di Maggio 1979 cited by Reay 2004:434). Regarding these principles, the educational trajectories of three RMC generations (grandparents, parents and children) are analysed in order to show the construction of the class habitus for the provision of educational services. The opportunities and constraints that each generation encountered in relation to education within the context of their upward social mobility are especially considered in the analysis.

Finally, the next level of the explanatory scheme regards understanding how dispositions are learned within specific socio-cultural contexts to which people have experienced sustained exposure (Bourdieu 1988, Reay 2004, Roberts 2012), i.e., how “the experience of a certain social group produces a culture which disposes those brought up within that culture to develop characteristic preferences” (Nash 2002:276). At this point, I found very useful Foucault’s concept of governmentality as a potential route for structuring subjectivities, because this allows an understanding of how subjects internalize a determined type of social and economic condition. Governmentality refers to “the structures of power by which conduct is organised, and by which governance is aligned with the self-organising capacities of individual subjects” (Olssen 2006: 214). As Balarin (2006) affirms, according to Olssen *et al.* (2004) the prevalence of a specific form of socio-political organization – for instance, the Neo-Liberal State – is linked to the establishment of a concomitant discourse that gives rise

to a new, dominant common sense through which agents interpret, live in, and understand the world. So, a Foucauldian approach that looks at the structuring of subjectivities, which connects local discourse with salient political, economic and cultural formations is used as a way of explaining the emergence of habitus in the case of the Peruvian RMC.

I argue that in the case of the Peruvian RMC the construction of this subjectivity is influenced by the historical weakness and exclusionary practice of the Peruvian state towards this social group, subsequently reinforced by the prevalence of the political economy of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on markets and encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains. All this has led to the establishment of a concomitant discourse in RMC parents where they conceive themselves “not as citizens with claims on the state but as self-enterprising citizen-subjects who are obligated to emerge as entrepreneurs of themselves” (Ong 2006:14). It is only through individual effort or chance that they will be able ‘to make it’ or to access opportunities. This subjectivity may influence their disposition to assume individually the provision of educational services. Another main contribution of this research is the exploration of the potential of a Foucauldian approach to structuring subjectivities to explain how habitus is constructed.

Research Questions and Research Aims

The methodology used in this study has sought to develop a rich, qualitative understanding of the processes of educational choice for school education in a sample of Peruvian RMC families who have chosen private education; and how and why their disposition (habitus) to assume individual responsibility for the provision of their children’s education has emerged, drawing on discursive approaches. At this point it is important to mention that the original plan had been to compare two groups of RMC: one who would have chosen state schools, and the other who would have chosen private schools. However, in the initial exploration phase of this study that took around four months, for all the RMC families that I found who had their children in state schools, the main reason for this was they had had a serious decrease in income. They thus “had” to enroll their children in a state school. This circumstance, not directed by “real choice” did not allow the originally planned comparison. Although it might be possible to find RMC families with a real choice for state school, this group is small and the effort to find them exceeded the time and resources available for this study. For this reason I have focused on the RMC families who have chosen private schools considering another criterion for the comparison within this group: their belonging to a

consolidated or a precarious group. The explanation is given later on in this section and in the methodology chapter. Then, the overarching questions that this study addresses are:

- What view does the new rising middle class which has chosen private education have of state and private education?
- How has class habitus for individual responsibility for the provision of education been formed?
- Finally, why has greater pressure not been placed on the state for high quality education by this emerging class?

I explore the major research questions by considering a number of related sub-questions, as follows: (1) To what extent does educational choice among this group of Peruvian RMC parents involve rationalist criteria as well as the development of specific dispositions? (2) What relation is there between the option for private education and their process of class consolidation (through their upward social mobility)? (3) To what extent does their disposition to assume individual responsibility for educational provision also respond to the appropriation of a dominant neoliberal discourse where citizens are entrepreneurs of themselves for the provision of social services?

Research Aims:

- To explore the rising middle class discourse among those who chose private education concerning state and private education and how this discourse has emerged;
- To explore a dynamic approach to habitus regarding the effect of upward social mobility to explain how habitus is constructed;
- To explore the potential of the Foucauldian approach to structuring subjectivities to explain the effect of the prevalence of a neoliberal discourse in how habitus is constructed.

At the core of this research is the analysis of school choice and the habitus formation process through making an intergenerational and comparative approach. I am working with two samples of RMC families who have chosen private schools, one from a consolidated fraction and the other from a precarious one¹¹. The intergenerational view takes into account the educational trajectories and experiences of RMC grandparents, parents and

¹¹ The term precarious refers to a rising middle class fraction that in their ascendant trajectory has risen out of poverty but continues to be vulnerable as it could go back to being poor.

children. This offers a unique opportunity for a dynamic study of the process of structuring and re-structuring of habitus that shows relative malleability throughout the trajectory of an agent, in this case the Peruvian RMC, strongly influenced by their process of upward social mobility. Additionally, the study uses a contrast regarding two fractions of the rising group: the consolidated and the precarious fractions. I consider this provides a relevant insight since "the individuals come to embody a habitus with the marks of social position and social distance" (Skeggs 2004:46). The marks are different between these two RMC fractions and it is expected that these influence their habitus formation process. This comparative approach is especially relevant in a field where there are almost no studies that provide a comprehensive and deep understanding of the phenomenon of transferring from state to private schools, and because there is evidence that this phenomenon does not exclusively encompass consolidated RMC groups but also includes precarious ones.

The research purpose is not to make generalizations and the method designed does not correspond to any statistical representation. The selection of samplings has been based on the relevance of cases instead of their representativeness. In doing so, it is expected that the findings will build a better understanding of the generative mechanisms concerning the habitus of the relatively new phenomenon of educational choice in the Peruvian RMC and involves a comprehensive approach that focuses not only on how but also why this shift from state to public education occurs in the Peruvian RMC.

A note about social class in educational research

The analysis of the habitus formation process in the Peruvian RMC is contextualised in the complex and controversial work on social class. Within this perspective, the study aims to contribute to what Ball (2003:15) refers to as the 'rediscovery of social class in educational research'. As Bradley and Ingram (2012) acknowledge, this presents both theoretical and operational problems such as: How is social class defined? What approach to social class is used? And how is the class of my population and sample ascertained? In relation to the theoretical aspects¹², this research follows the new directions of class analysis. According to Roberts (2012:68), these new directions challenge the causal model of traditional class analysis that understands class as occupationally derived, "in which consciousness, action and cultural forms are seen to depend upon people's explicit knowledge of their own economic and occupational class position relative to others". As Devine and Savage (2005:7) state, by the 1980's "the prevailing view was there was no tidy relationship between class structure and position and cultural beliefs and practices". That is, stratification does

¹² Methodological aspects are discussed in Chapter four.

not work to generate clear and coherent class consciousness and class imagery. Additionally, given that consumption and lifestyle have established themselves as key sites of individual and group formations, the significance of work as a foundation for social attitudes and identities has also declined (Roberts 2001).

In the Latin American context, the phenomenon of middle class expansion has brought back studies and debates about social class, and specifically the middle class (Portes and Hoffman 2003, Arellano 2008, Franco and León 2010, Franco et al 2011). When discussing the middle class, “objective” and “subjective” dimensions are taken into account (Franco et al 2011). The former include occupation, income, schooling and consumption, which are criteria taken from models of social stratification. The latter, on the other hand, include values and aspirations, the adoption of a middle class identity expressed in lifestyles, imageries, the ways they distinguish themselves from other social conglomerates and closure mechanisms. However, the objective approach still prevails in large studies which employ a two-dimensional measure of the middle class by occupation and income (Franco and León 2010). This is despite the fact that one of the most outstanding characteristics of the middle class is its high and commonly accepted heterogeneity “as a consequence of different types of insertion in the labour market, salary level and educational level, as well as socialization patterns, lifestyles and consumption habits” (Franco and León 2010). Regarding this heterogeneity, segmentation by work, income and the possession of assets is not only insufficient but also inadequate. In this perspective the consideration of subjective dimensions contributes to a better understanding of class and its heterogeneity at the same time as adding complexity.

In the Peruvian case, the debate about social class arose at the end of the 1990s taking into account work and economic considerations as the bases for social differentiation, with an emphasis on culture and the symbolic order in the production of collective identities (Portocarrero 1997, Plaza 2007, Toche 2009, Arellano 2010). Since the beginning of this decade, the expansion of the middle class strongly associated with economic growth has put what it means to be middle class at the forefront as an issue that needs to be debated and defined¹³. A recent study of the Inter-American Development Bank (Jaramillo y Zambrano, 2013) on the middle class in Peru carried out during 2005-2011 shows a high expansion of

¹³ In terms of its contribution to and support of this economic growth but also warning that the middle class is vulnerable due to its high levels of informality, the low rate of social protection and the low quality of state services to which they have access.

this social class which has revived the debate in terms of the definition and the ways of segmentation and measuring the middle class¹⁴.

New directions have thus transformed the scope and analytical framework of class analysis expanding the concept of social class to include social and cultural formations (Boterro 2004). As Ball (2003:6) argues "class here is an identity and a lifestyle, and a set of perspectives on the social world and relationships in it, marked by varying degrees of reflexivity". In addressing the (re) incorporation of the cultural into class analysis the work of Pierre Bourdieu is a central point of reference. As Devine et al. (2005:15) affirm, Bourdieu's approach potentially "offers a distinctive new approach to issues of class, culture and identity that focus on the complex interplay between habitus, reflexivity and identity". For Bourdieu (1986:467) identities, lifestyles, perspectives and relationships are 'constituted in the course of collective history' and 'acquired in the course of individual history, which 'function in their practical state'. In this perspective, identity "is not based on recognising oneself as belonging to a given position, but as differentiating oneself from others in a field, through comprehending and playing the game with its various stakes and players" (Devine et al. 2005:14). This sense of differentiation has been constantly expressed by the RMC parents interviewed for this study.

This last point brings in another central aspect in the Bourdieurian perspective which is the emphasis on the situated realizations for its approach to class which has also been considered in the context of this study. As Ball (2003:175) affirms, "class identities are not be found within talk about categories but in "practices and accounts of practices – in specific practices of distinction, and closure and in the 'aesthetics of distance' (Savage 2000: 107) (...) It is within these practices, in specific social fields, that individuals and families are aware of themselves and others as classed". In this research, 'class action' takes place within the field of educational choice, thus the enterprise is about education as an aspect of class (Ball 2003). Precisely in relation to the particular significance of educational choice as class practice this author remarks, "class is realized [...] particularly at moments of crisis and contradiction as parents think about the well-being and happiness and future of their offspring. Class is about knowing how to act at these defining moments" (Ball 2003:7). Following this perspective, the starting point in this research is the analysis of school choice as a rising middle class practice.

¹⁴ Precisely its heterogeneity has led different Peruvian researchers to talk about the middle classes rather than 'a middle class' (see Benavides 2003, Arellano 2008, Toche 2009); or even to question whether such a heterogeneous group can constitute a class (Dargent 2013)

Another aspect mentioned by Savage (2000) is the importance of both persistence and change in class analysis regarding more dynamic modes of middle-class formation. As the author argues “defending claims of the value of class analysis in terms of arguments about the persistence of class means denying the possibility of social change” (Savage 2000:107). This dynamic approach based on the relevance of time in class analysis is critical in the current research because change is at the core of this study: the transformation of the RMC habitus across generations which occurs, in turn, within a changing context of ascendant social mobility. Finally, in the context of competing theories of change, Savage (2000:151) also warns that their main problem is that many of them locate “the springs of change away from the proximate worlds of everyday life and over-stress the systemic logic of social change”. In relation to that I find the concept of habitus particularly appropriate and useful because “its attendant ability to transcend the structure-agency dichotomy and offer, in its place, a dialectical and dynamic perspective on human action, facilitates an understanding of the role of both interpersonal processes and broader structural and institutional practices in sustaining and reproducing human action” (Bryan 2006:55).

Despite the contribution of the new paradigm of culture in class analysis, especially the Bourdieurian approach¹⁵, as Devine et al. (2005) acknowledge, its incorporation is not without problems¹⁶. These authors state as main issues that need to be addressed: the concern that Bourdieu’s approach to culture may be reductive in some ways, or the ambivalence of class awareness where the relationship between discursive and more practical forms of awareness remains unclear. However, as the same authors suggest, these issues, which more than generate discomfiture, should be carefully and systematically incorporated in the research agenda for those working from Bourdieu’s perspective with diverse contexts and social groups in order for empirical research to contribute to the construction of theoretical ideas (Devine et al. 2005). This is one of the purposes of this study. Nevertheless, it is necessary to underscore that this research is not about ‘social class’ or ‘class analysis’ as such, except in terms of how an understanding of these contributes to a better comprehension of class practice and dispositions in the educational field.

¹⁵ I agree with Devine et al. (2005) that there are different approaches to the incorporation of culture into class analysis rather than ‘one best way’. I refer to Bourdieu’s approach because it has been mainly assumed in the context of this research

¹⁶ “Whilst again highlighting the problems of a traditional class formation approach, it was not clear how this stress on collective organizations and class practices could be operationalised” (Devine et al. 2005:9)

Chapters Map

The research has been organized into five parts, each consisting of one or more chapters. Part one has an introductory character, which aims to situate the problem and also offers a brief outline of the study's key theoretical and methodological approaches. This is followed by a background chapter (chapter 2), which aims to situate the reader in relation to the problem and its context. To that end it presents an overview of three core lines in the study: the Peruvian State and the nature of its relationship with society, the origins and main characteristics of the rising middle class, and the evolution of the Peruvian educational system putting emphasis on the current educational market. This reference to the context serves as an important framework in order to understand and locate this study's findings.

In part two the theoretical underpinnings of the research are presented (chapter 3). The multilevel explanatory scheme proposed by Bourdieu provides the theoretical architecture used for this study which includes the relationship between system properties, habituated dispositions and effective practices. Moreover, making use of an eclectic perspective to gain complementary insights within this theoretical model, the centrality of Bourdeurian concepts are complemented by Foucault's concept of governmentality as a route for structuring subjectivities.

Part three provides a detailed discussion of the research methodology (chapter 4). It begins with the epistemological considerations that have guided the research process, a section is then dedicated to the methodological concerns in the work with habitus as a central concept for the study. The remainder of the chapter gives a detailed overview of the development and implementation of the research design. Here I cover issues of sampling, research tools for the discussion groups and in-depth interviews, and an overview of the study's analytical procedures before closing with a description of the sample of the RMC parents that form part of the investigation.

Part four presents the findings, analyses and discussions of the empirical data. It is organized in three chapters. In Chapter 5 the process of RMC parents' school choice is discussed regarding rational-strategic and culturalist dimensions. In Chapter 6 the dynamic process of the RMC habitus formation is analysed taking into account how the disposition for the provision of education has been continually re-structured through the generations in correspondence with their process of class formation and upward social mobility. In Chapter 7 the influence of the broader context of the political economic mentality that prevails in the

relationship between the Peruvian state and the RMC in the formation of the habitus is discussed. The conclusions are presented in the fifth part.

On my interests, positions and motivations for this study: a reflexive exercise

In the final section of this chapter I want to make some observations concerning my interests, positions and motivations for this study because as Vincent and Ball (2006:19) argue, “clearly the researcher is not separate from the act of doing research, but rather always positioned in certain ways in relation to the research, ways that need to be made explicit”. It is an attempt to reflect on my involvement in the study taking into account the idea of reflexivity as a requirement and form of sociological work proposed by Bourdieu¹⁷ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

After more than ten years working in education policy and management in my country from different positions mainly in the Ministry of Education and International Cooperation Institutes, I have witnessed or directly participated in different ‘declarative’ attempts to improve education without any of them having had far-reaching consequences¹⁸. Besides, despite the favourable context of a country that had experienced continuous economic growth for almost ten years, there was no effective and sustainable effort to improve education on the part of the state or society. At this point it was inevitable to question how something like this could happen. Why did the country, the society, families tolerate a low-quality education system? Why was it practically inconceivable to imagine mass public demonstrations demanding improvements in education in Peru, as had been occurring in neighbouring Chile in the last few years? An urgent need to answer these question and understand the reasons behind this paradox of how, at a time when the economy was growing very rapidly, there was both such little public expenditure and lack of substantive intervention in education, gave rise to this study.

My professional background initially led me to focus on the search for possible causes in the role of the state as education provider the difficulties of which I was familiar. However, soon

¹⁷ According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:69) “a genuinely reflexive sociology must constantly guard itself against epistemocentrism, or the “ethnocentrism of the scientist”, which consists in ignoring everything that the analyst injects into his perception of the object by virtue of the fact that he is placed outside of the object, that he observes it from afar and from above”

¹⁸ I think of the Crusade for Education in 2001-2002, the Policies of the National Agreement related to education (2002), the sector being declared in emergency (2003), the creation of the National Council for Education (2003), the Social Pact for reciprocal commitments for education (2004-2006), the National Education Project which became State Policy (2006)

in this exploration the need to assume a dialectical perspective regarding the influence that governing and citizenship exerted on each other became clear. I turned then to the demand side, particularly the main users of education services, the families. When I started this exploration I recognized that my intense work in participatory planning and policy design in the last few years, which involved the participation of different social actors, had not considered a proper understanding of all the complexity of the families as education users. Clearly it was insufficient only to know their concerns, necessities and demands regarding education¹⁹. A deep knowledge of their practices, lifestyles, expectations, principles, values, and choice processes became necessary to understand their position and action as education users. Thus, a deep exploration of the demand side developed as the missing piece of the puzzle in order to have a more integrated view of the above-mentioned paradox. In this context, the particular case of the RMC with their rapid transit from state to private services offered interesting insights, specially their disposition to assume individual responsibility for the provision of education services. At this point, it is worth pointing out that my focus on the RMC attempts to cast some light on the possible causes of a complex phenomenon that undoubtedly is influenced by different factors. Thus, it represents such a window in a sea of complexity.

A second aspect that I have to mention is that when I decided to focus my research on the understanding of the shift from state to private schools in the RMC, I came across comments suggesting that this choice was rather obvious. Anyone in my country, myself included, would consider the option for private education to be common sense (if you have the financial resources for it), given the crisis of the state school system. For a long time, this made me anxious and I wondered why I was dedicating a whole research project to studying it. Here I appreciate the insistence of my supervisors to drive me to question the obviousness of this choice. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:235) argues “the construction of a scientific object requires first and foremost a break with commons sense, that is, with the representations shared by all, whether they be the mere commonplaces of ordinary existence or official representations”. In this perspective Balarin (2006:2), one of my supervisors also maintains that, “the taken-for-grantedness of the obvious tends to imply that little consideration is given to it. This involves considerable dangers, as much of what we take for granted as being natural and obvious is indeed the product of not so necessary or evident dynamics”. Moreover, given that the most obvious of our interpretations “do not follow a univocal logic they can always be opened up to a play of signifiers that lead in new, sometimes more illuminative or empowering ways” (Balarin 2006:3).

¹⁹ It was the typical approach of a large number of diagnosis realised in relation to education by then

Then, the challenge was to take distance from what appears to occur naturally. As Balarin (2006) argues, this allowed a re-examination of the phenomenon in spite of its obviousness, as an attempt to understand the processes that have led it to become natural as well as to reveal the 'hidden' dynamics that underlie it. Moreover, regarding Bourdieu's (1992:238) assertion that "one of the most powerful instruments of rupture [with all the presuppositions] lies in the social history of problems, objects and instruments of thought, that is, with the history of the work of social construction of reality", the progressive constitution of the disposition to assume individual responsibility for the provision of education was considered in my exploration. All this opened the possibility of a broader understanding of this obvious phenomenon going beyond the crisis of state education, and considering a multilevel explanatory perspective that embraces the relationship between recognisable social practices, dispositions, and the influence of both class formation processes and the neoliberal discourse.

Also related to these points, I consider that the contribution of the research is not only to provide relevant knowledge that aims to illuminate the understanding of a phenomenon, but also to do so avoiding reductionist explanations that may in themselves misrepresent social life (Sayer 2000). I mention the latter because during the time that I have been working on my research a debate about privatization and the education market has started in my country. In this debate reductionist and simplistic approaches such as "the illusion that private education and education markets are a panacea to avert national decline" (Lauder et al. 1999), or "the State is not responsible of education but it is civil society" ²⁰ (CADE 2013) oftentimes prevail. I expect that research like the one I have carried out make evident the necessity to consider a broader and integrated approach to understand, to discuss and to address issues related to state and private education.

Now, I want to turn to a number of reflexions about my position during the research process, mainly related to the social origins and coordinates (class and gender) of myself as individual researcher, and their influence on the relationship with the parents interviewed. I should start by mentioning that I am an upper-middle class woman and single mother and that at the time I carried out the parents' interviews as part of the study I had just gone through a similar process of school choice for my son in the private sector. This gave me a particular source of commonality with the parents, and in some ways it was like researching my own school choice process. The close identification with the parents facilitated the

²⁰ Summary of the opening speech of the Annual Conference of Executives for the Education (CADE) carried out in Lima (2013) which central theme was "The private response to education".

development of a good rapport with them since I could fully understand the meaning, concerns, expectations and uncertainty that this kind of process involves. However, that they were going through a similar experience did not entail that the meaning they gave to their experience was the same. Soon the differences related to our dissimilar social background and contexts became evident²¹. My awareness of these different starting points and the strong influence of the social class background on the school choice process was a permanent exercise that allowed me to focus on the particular context of the RMC families interviewed. Likewise, the unfamiliarity with some distinctive characteristics of the RMC that influenced their social practices, such as entrepreneurialism as their mark of identity or the strong pressure for their children to participate in extra school activities, led me to use my naivety as a tactic in the interviews and ask for explanations that the parents were very willing to give.

I also have to recognize that some gender issues, specifically the relation between professional dedication and motherhood that were raised in the interviews touched me in a particular way regarding my position as a woman that tries to find a balance between them. The stories narrated by the parents told of efforts and sacrifice as well as a strong determination to have a profession, or to obtain employment to become autonomous. In this context it was initially difficult to understand the option assumed by a large number of the mothers interviewed that had abandoned their profession and/or jobs and become dependent, entirely devoted to their families. And, rather, I identified myself with those few mothers who resisted giving up their professions and jobs opting to maintain them in conjunction with their dedication to their children. Again, to be aware of my own position, interrogate my own perplexity, and assume self-criticism allowed me to take a distance.

Finally I have to highlight the emotional commitment that emerged from listening to intense and highly emotional stories such as the RMC parents' trajectories in education as part of their trajectories of life. In relation to this I have to say that my interaction with the parents I interviewed was pre-eminently as mothers and fathers rather than as class agents. Every story narrated by the parents lived in me for a time before working with it as data. The data became increasingly detached from the particularity of the people in the interview encounter. However, I still regard 'my' sample with the affection and respect that each one of their stories inspired.

²¹ As an upper middle-class citizen, I have been a traditional user of private education, a condition that I have sought to reproduce for my son. In contrast to this, the parents interviewed have been traditional users of state education, a practice that they have sought to break with, with their children's generation as a reconversion strategy to maintain the class position achieved.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 2. THE BACKGROUND

Overview of the Peruvian State, the emergence of the rising middle class, and the evolution of the Peruvian education system

This background chapter includes an historical overview of three core analytical lines in this study: i. the different development models that have prevailed and the nature of the relationship between the Peruvian state and society; ii. the context and process of emergence of the main subjects of this research – the Peruvian RMC – and; iii. the evolution of the Peruvian educational system and the current conditions of the education market as the field where the study is realized. This reference to the context serves as an important resource through which to understand and locate this study's own findings. Although the research focuses on the last decade, the period considered for this overview begins in the fifties when the modernization and democratization processes started, because these involved a significant change in the nature of the relationship between the state and society²². Likewise, in the same period it is possible to analyze the emergence of the rising middle class, and also in the fifties, the educational system started a significant expansion driven by the state's action and social demand that influenced the RMC trajectory.

2.1 Overview of the Peruvian State and the nature of its relationship with society

During the last sixty years different models of development promoted by the state have prevailed although none of them were consolidated, leading to an unstable path for development. As Sagasti et al. (2007) point out, Peruvians have experienced a wide range of economic, political, and ideological swings from the end of the oligarchic state to the neoliberal one, passing through an attempted 'welfare regime' and several populist models. All of them have fluctuated between authoritarian and democratic regimes. In this diversity, some distinctive features prevail: the patrimonialism and exclusive character of the state, the weakness of the political community, the fragility of state institutions and the predominance of coercive forces (Lopez 1997). From a similar perspective, Filgueira (2005: 4) remarks as

²² Until that time this relationship was strongly mediated by the oligarchic power

a distinctive feature of the Latin American developmental state, that it is more "the history of elite accommodation, the elite's state building and the elite's attempts to co-opt and control non elite-sectors than a history of popular achievements and shaping from below".

In the typology of Latin American states that Filgueira (2005) presents using the theory of welfare regimes, Peru is described as having followed a trajectory from dual to exclusionary development. The dual form of political and social incorporation reflects heterogeneity in terms of inclusion, where "in some provinces and regions there is an important development of the formal market, the state and social protection while, in other provinces, there is a virtual exclusionary system with very low incorporation of the vast majority of the population" (Filgueira 2005: 24). In the exclusionary form, "professionals, a very reduced number of formal workers and public officers are those that, typically, benefit under these models. The vast majority of the population is excluded" (Filgueira 2005: 31). Taking into account this categorization, the dynamics and changes that have characterized the relationship between the Peruvian state and citizens during the last six decades are presented below.

The 1950s: The foundation of new state-society relations and the beginning of social transformation

Although most Latin American countries began to apply policies to consolidate their internal markets after the Great Depression, embracing in the 1950s import substitution industrialization, the emergence of a developmental state took too long in the Peruvian case, and this did not fully materialize until two decades later (Abugattas 1987). Moreover, as Sagasti et al. (2007) point out, this emergence had an important limitation given the 'dual structure' of the Peruvian economy: a 'traditional' economy related to the agrarian sector (located mainly in the Highlands), and another incipient and disconnected 'modern sector' characterized by exports, international markets and foreign investment. Given that the Peruvian state adopted more of a 'laissez-faire' strategy, Peru "did not have the import substitution industrialization (ISI) push to expand in a dual economy, especially the 'modern' part, in terms of the growth of labour markets and employment creation. This does not mean that modern economies did not develop, but the dual character was intensified" (Filgueira 2005: 29).

In socio political terms, the right-populist regime that president Odria led during this decade meant a distancing of the oligarchy from state power; its mediation was weakened, and

citizen political participation was widening²³ (Lopez 1997). In this context, several processes that took place in the 1950s became influential driving forces for social transformations in subsequent decades (Sagasti et. al., 2007): the massive migration to cities seeking better job opportunities and education which accelerated the urbanization process; the emergence of shanty towns around the Peruvian capital and other cities on the Coast that initiated a new relationship between the urban poor and the government. These situations led to "the design of explicit social policies for the first time in Peru which were largely focused on providing basic social services mainly to the new urban population, and increasing attention was paid to the social demands of the organized urban middle class" (Sagasti et al. 2007: 156). Developments in social protection targeted formal urban workers and did not reach rural citizens, who were the vast majority of the population, showing their dual character following Filgueira's terms.

The 1960s: More state intervention and social mobilizations for inclusion

According to Sagasti et al. (2007), by the early 1960s a more determined state intervention in the economy was demanded and the Belaúnde government followed the application of the ISI model "which launched an aggressive shift in development" (Filgueira 2005: 29). This meant the significant economic growth of different productive sectors but also a rapid increase in the levels of both fiscal deficit and external debt. Likewise, the expansion of transnational corporations and foreign enterprises was related to the ISI policy implementation during this period (Sagasti et al. 1997). As Thorp and Bertram (1978: 273) affirm "industrialization came late and it was externally-induced and controlled (...) it failed to create a new class of dynamic local industrial capitalists. (...) and most of the new manufacturing sectors did not represent a clear-cut step towards a more integrated, autonomous economy". In this decade the state in addition to its old coercive functions, increased its role in the economy and broadened its social functions (Lopez 1997).

Economic growth, the fast urbanization process, and the expansion of the state favored the integration of important sectors of the middle class to the economic, political and social life of the country²⁴ (Lopez 1997). As a consequence, the positive economic trajectory that Peru experienced was accompanied by a highly confrontational political context: "the middle class

²³ According to Lopez (1997) the oligarchy always supported an orthodox liberal economic policy and restricted political participation. In relation to citizenship, the oligarchic state was exclusive, paternalist, repressive and co-optative.

²⁴ Middle class was represented by wage-earning workers, the bureaucracy, and the more well-established urban social groups.

pressed for an increase in public expenditure in social services and for mechanisms to maintain its purchasing power [In addition to this], a growing awareness of the need for land reform converged with the demands of some peasant movements" (Sagasti et al. 2007:159). In response, President Belaúnde's social policies focused on two types of intervention which meant a continuity in the dual character of these policies: massive investment in urban infrastructure targeting specially the urban-middle class population; and social programmes to construct and maintain infrastructure in rural and low-class urban areas to obtain political support (Sagasti et al. 2007).

The ambitious housing programme and health plan implemented in this period was biased against the most vulnerable citizens who did not receive any support - and who constituted the vast majority of the population in the country. Moreover, these programmes were based on clientelistic relationships²⁵ with the state and political parties. In education, the state increased public expenditure and achieved important improvements in education coverage. This progress in education contributed to an increase in the political participation of immigrants who came from the Andean areas where participation was restricted (Lopez 1997). In relation to rural and low-class urban areas, special programmes for improving their living conditions were created, focused on the creation of temporary employment, the construction of small and productive infrastructure, and providing food to the poorer sectors of the population (Sagasti et al. 2007).

The 1970s: The Peruvian revolution promoted by the state

The military dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado attempted substantive advance in developmental strategies with a greater emphasis on social rights though a strong state and an interventionist approach to the economy (Lopez 1997, Sagasti et al. 2007). *Velasquismo* brought down all the powers that had captured the state (the oligarchy, gamonalism²⁶, foreign companies, and the media), centralized authority and established direct relations with the citizens (Lopez 2012). The main reforms were focused on: distributional policies

²⁵ Clientelistic relationships refer to the political exchange between two parts, where the "pattern" (government, president, politician) gives assistance and protection in return for political support, which usually translates into the expression "*work by votes*" (Weingrod, 1968: 379). Although at other times clientelism was spoken over the granting of work, the offer within the exchange may include any form, means or mode of delivery goods (e.g certain types of social programmes that many governments develop have similar objectives).

²⁶ Gamonalism is a term used in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia that means "bossism". It is derived from *gamonal*, a word meaning a "large landowner," and it refers to the exploitation of the indian population mainly by landowners of European descent.

through an ambitious land reform²⁷ and public-private property schemes as an explicit measure to redistribute wealth; an increase in state intervention in the economy through public enterprises to capitalize the country; the promotion of social mobilization to ensure the sustainability of policies; the attempt at a more universal expansion of public social services in urban and rural areas (education, health, sanitation, housing and pension systems) and recognition policies for marginalized populations which sought that these excluded sectors should become subjects of rights (Pedraglio 2003, Sagasti, et.al 2007).

Velasco's dictatorship was based on organic statism, inclusive corporatism and participation as a means of domination (Lopez 1997). It is worth noting that the elimination of the oligarchy and its mediation between the state and the population "did not result in direct government and individualistic authority relationships and liberal citizens (inspired by the liberal pluralist political culture orientation), but rather social citizens and corporate forms within the framework of organic statism" (Stepan 1978 cited by: Lopez 1997: 269). However, this attempt at social and political reforms failed because of the lateness of the attempt, the effects of the 1970s debt crises, the decreased effectiveness of economic and social models due to fiscal restrictions which exacerbated social conflict, the political and administrative weakness of the military government as well as its ideological closure, which upheld a developmental, welfare-oriented model while the world was moving away from such a model (Lopez 1997, Sagasti et al. 2007, Balarin 2011)²⁸. During the second stage of the military government, under Francisco Morales Bermudez, Velasco's short lived reforms were gradually dismantled, and the level of state intervention diminished. The growing social demands led the military government to call for elections to a new Constituent Assembly that would lead the country back to democracy.

The 1980s: The first attempt at neoliberalism, a return to national populism and the collapse of the state

The eighties were a critical period recognized as the Latin American version of the 'lost decade'. As Lopez (1997: 279) affirms "in this decade the demands for better distribution and democratization of Latin America's societies were confronted with the demands of international organizations which called for the payment of debt and a change of development model".

²⁷ Which meant the end of the oligarchy

²⁸ In the 1970s, the ISI model broke down and the political regimes of the most advanced social states changed drastically (Filgueira 2005)

In the Peruvian case, at the beginning of the 80s there was a turn toward both a new democratic political regime and a new economic regime based on a market economy through a relatively successful programme of economic liberalization and IMF adjustment policies which were not particularly centered on social policies. However, as Sagasti et al. (2007) indicate, the collapse of the international prices of Peruvian exports and the *El Niño* climatic phenomenon led to an economic downturn. "Dualism continued to be the distinctive feature of the economic structure [...] Moreover, large parts of rural and Andean areas remained disconnected from major cities with little state presence. Some of these towns were also occupied by armed movements" (Sagasti et al. 2007:162) and the decade saw the rise and peak of political violence.

As a consequence, the modernization process was paralyzed and the application of liberal public policies affected the lower and middle classes, which were subjected to a process of growing informalization (Lopez 1997). Another important change took place as a result of the dismantling of the corporatist and common policies of the military regime. This gave rise to individualistic relations of authority. In Lopez's words, "communitarian citizens began to be replaced by 'liberal' citizens" (p.289). Additionally, the relations that the state established with the population, especially with those from rural areas, were of a clientelist nature, and the population responded in the same way combined with pragmatic, cost-benefit criterion (Lopez 1997).

In the second half of the decade the voters decided on a return to populism and President García, from the APRA party, promised economic reform under a heterodox programme perpetuating the established development model of state-led import-substituting industrialization (ISI) and refused to combat Peru's economic crises through market-oriented stabilization measures (Sagasti et al. 2007)- Moreover, García managed to provide populist measures which benefited to a vast range of social groups²⁹. As Weyland (1996:7) argues, "the deprivations caused by the deep economic crises of the 1980s made the lavish promises of populist leaders particularly attractive". Of these groups, the informal sector was especially relevant because García rose to power by appealing especially to Peru's huge informal sector. This sector had remained excluded from the mainstream of development and was "politically and organizationally largely uncommitted. With only limited capacity to advance their interests successfully on their own, people from the informal sector were more receptive to the promises of a populist benefactor" (Sanborn 1991, Crabtree 1992, and Cameron 1994 cited by : Weyland, 1996: 7-8).

²⁹ The presidency of Alan García in Peru (1985-1990) is considered the prototypical case of the first wave of neopopulism in Latin America (Weyland 1996)

Although these heterodox policies worked for about two years, they led to a severe and deep crisis with record levels of hyper-inflation and recession. The economic crisis led to an increase in poverty, a deterioration of public services, a huge increase of informality, and a severe fiscal imbalance in social insurance schemes culminating in a near collapse of the state, and Peru's demise from the international funding community. In this context, the possibilities for social spending significantly narrowed (Huber 1996, Lopez 1997, Sagasti et al. 2007, Balarín 2014).

The 1990s: The beginning of Neopopulism and Neoliberalism

As Huber (1996) points out, in Latin America the reaction to the crisis of the 80s ranged from the neoliberal solutions of individualization and privatization to the social democratic solutions of universalization and consolidation of public schemes. In the Peruvian case, at the beginning of the 90s, the state was practically destroyed and traditionally precarious state-society relations were broken. According to Lopez (1997: 286), "society suffered the absence of the state when it most needed it, and despite its proven uselessness, people still demand a stronger state presence".

This critical context was the background to President Fujimori's rise to power (elected in 1990), and provided the justification and legitimacy to impose tough adjustment measures, initiating a market-oriented restructuring as a reaction to state interventionist policies, and reintegrating Peru into the international financial community³⁰. The main reforms were directed at privatization, disassembly of the promotional role of the state, reduction and flexibility of labour legislation making employment more precarious, elimination of subsidies, promotion of open markets and private transnational capital investment (Remy 2010, Sagasti et al. 2007). This drastic stabilization programme "was not only the answer for the Peru of the 90s, but was perceived as part of a process of "national salvation" (Remy 2010: 281). According to Gonzales de Olarte (2005), Structural Adjustment Policies were applied in Peru probably with more haste than in any other Latin American country and produced the illusion of renewed growth as there was an abundance of foreign capital.

Part of the revenue generated from the privatization process and resources from international donors were used for the implementation of social policies mainly through aggressive assistential policies. Remy (2010) argues that this renewed spending capacity consolidated Fujimori's regime and established a new relationship between the state and

³⁰ As Weyland (1996: 9) argues, "Fujimori used political populism to impose economic liberalism, and in turn used economic liberalism to strengthen his populist leadership"

popular sectors. The implementation of social programmes of poverty alleviation and public works were not only partial compensation for the loss of purchasing power caused by structural adjustment. They were also perceived as a concern of the state (mainly focused on the figure of the president) for the poor. In this way, the state (president) tried to establish a direct, quasi-personal relationship with its followers often of a clientelist nature facilitated by the highly discretionary character of the funds. As Weyland (1996) points out, Fujimori rose in neopopulist fashion. Given his lack of any significant party organization, he targeted especially the urban informal sector and the rural poor as sources of societal support. Fujimori appealed to them as the main victims of the established development model (ISI)³¹ and focused his “efforts at finding mass support from these strata, which were excluded from the formal economy and which lacked strong organizations to assert their full rights of citizenship” (Weyland 1996: 10). His relation with them was a form of assistentialism with the state acting mainly as an aid giver.

This assistentialism was combined with widespread state retrenchment not only in its economic and social functions but also in its traditional function to guarantee order and security. As Balarin (2014: 11) states, “while many basic social services continued to exist, state investment in these services remained low and residual, with the emphasis being on ‘modernisation’ rather than expansion, at the same time as private investment in social industries – education in particular – were encouraged”. As a result, the middle and upper classes purchased these services and the lower social classes attempted to organize themselves to replace an absent state. This retrenchment negatively affected the main Peruvian citizen routes for inclusion through migration from rural to urban areas, where the state was present and opportunities for personal advancement and security through employment were somewhat more available. However, under Fujimori’s regime “the state, as the main interlocutor for citizen inclusion struggles, was completely reshaped. New, more ‘flexible’ labour laws were introduced that granted workers little protection, while state services provided insufficient routes to well-being” (Balarin 2014: 11)

All this shaped a decade characterized by loss of the centrality of the state, the installation of a market economy based on comparative advantages, high social-control almost without political opposition, the autonomization of civil society with regard to both the state and

³¹ According to Weyland (1996) and Filgueira (2005), the ISI model provided considerable benefits to relatively better-off strata, including the industrial working class and state employees. But, since job creation was limited, even in industry, large numbers of people (surplus labor) were confined to informal activities and often remained poor. As Weyland (1996: 10) states “while they did not benefit from the protection and subsidies that both formal labor and entrepreneurs enjoyed, they suffered the increase in prices that this model generated by passing increasing wage costs onto commodities prices”

political parties, the expansion of a society of individuals, or market society, limited informalization processes, social fragmentation and demobilization (Remy 2010, Weyland 1996).

2000 onward: Neoliberalism, economic growth and exclusion

Despite the alleged democratic political turn in the early 2000s with the election of Alejandro Toledo, in practice the Washington Consensus reforms implemented by Fujimori in the 1990s were largely reproduced by the democratic governments of Toledo (2001-2006) and García (2006-2011) albeit with additional emphasis on social programmes but of a residual character (Balarín 2011, Drinot 2011). During the last decade the Peruvian state has played a remarkable role fuelling continuous economic growth mainly through the application of neoliberal reforms. Significant advances in the adoption of fiscal and monetary policies that ensure macroeconomic stability as well as the promotion of open markets, free trade and the reorientation of industrial and agricultural production towards exports have been achieved. However, as Drinot (2011) affirms, in this positive scenario of a successful Peruvian 'capitalist revolution'³², the other side of the coin is a sustained human de-capitalization and the lack of a substantive redistribution policy, which are more striking when physical and financial capital expands significantly.

In terms of social policies, although some social benefit has accrued from this growth, expectations for more universal well-being have been addressed through claiming a 'trickle-down effect' rather than implementing social policies aimed at furthering inclusion. Some downward pressure on poverty levels and an expansion in employment in certain economic sectors and certain parts of the country have occurred. However, as Drinot (2011:191) states "this limited social benefit serves primarily to highlight the underlying inequalities and exclusions that this model of "development" at once reflects and, in turn, reproduces". In relation to this, Vasquez's analysis about poverty alleviation and poverty reduction programmes within the neoliberal turn indicates that during the second government of Fujimori (1995-2000) these programmes sought to increase social spending for political purposes and in order to giving a human face to free market economic policies. Later, in the 2001-2006 period, governments aimed to turn toward a social market economic approach. Finally, from 2006 the government began to show concern about the effectiveness of social management given the low level of satisfaction among the poorest (Vasquez 2010).

³² Term used by De Althaus (2007)

In the political context, during the last decade some relevant changes have been introduced, mainly directed at promoting good governance and the reestablishment of democracy, such as: the decentralization process; the signing of the *Acuerdo Nacional* by most political parties, private sector institutions and representatives of the civil society in order to promote the continuity of state policies; the implementation of different social programmes targeted at the poorest and the development of institutional reforms; and the establishment and functioning of the Round Table for the Fight against Poverty (MCLCP), all of them aimed “at consolidating democratic governance, to help achieve higher levels of competitiveness and to strengthen public sector institutions in order to promote equality and social justice” (Sagasti et al. 2007:166). However, Drinot (2011: 191) remarks how neoliberal reforms in the economic sphere and these kinds of initiatives in the political realm have not led “to the consolidation of an idealized liberal democracy, but rather to suboptimal policies characterized by clientelism, corruption, limited accountability, and authoritarianism” reinforced by the severe lack of institutionalization in the country.

2.2 The Origins, emergence and main characteristics of the new Rising Middle Class in Peru³³

Development and decline of the traditional middle class

Although the initial expansion of the middle class dates from the first decades of the XX century, when the oligarchic order was questioned, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the traditional middle class appeared as a consequence of industrialization and urbanization. This mainly occurred in Lima, at a time when the import substitution model prevailed and led to productive economic development (Lopez 1997, Sagasti et al. 2007). This social class benefited from the expansion of the state and its services, especially the education system. This period is considered as the “golden age” of the middle class because of the unprecedented welfare system, which arose as a result of reform proposals influenced by developmental models confronting the governing class and leading intellectual and political movements. This scenario also gave rise to a social conglomerate – the urban popular sector – which provided the setting for what would later be the rising middle class (Lopez 1997, Toche et al. 2003, Fuller 2004).

³³ Due to the fact that there are few studies about the new rising middle class, in general, and their class practices in education in particular, a set of interviews with both Peruvian middle class and educational researchers was also carried out in order to obtain relevant points of view. A total of six interviews with different social and/or educational researchers were carried out

By that time, the traditional middle class was considered as bearer of “progress”. As Toche et. al (2003: 108) point out “the country wished to portray itself as middle class. Mixed race but with touches of ‘white’, optimistic, with material expectations, which resulted in an amorphous ‘creole’ culture, benefiting from the expansion of education and, therefore, generator of ideas and proposals. Their lifestyle began to be legitimized”. Their lifestyle was characterized by secure employment, access to health insurance and a retirement pension. However, they represented a clear minority of the population.

According to Toche (2009), at that time, it was possible to distinguish between, on the one hand, a traditional middle class associated with the dual colonial imaginaries and an early modernization impulse, which highly valued spending as an investment aimed at keeping up appearances³⁴; and on the other hand, a consolidated middle class, the result of urban expansion and the second university reform³⁵, which allowed it to develop as an intellectual and technocratic elite. During this period, the middle class organized into reformist parties and received the support of trade unions, workers federations, and peasant organizations. They were committed to both making successful democratic transitions from dictatorial regimes and promoting other types of transitions – economic, social and those concerning the State – toward a democratic citizen-driven society. Their main achievements were related to the conquest of political and social rights, and to a more aggressive policy in education. Although advances were made, they were still limited, if one considers the goal of equal rights for all citizens (Lopez 1997).

However, after the 1970s, the material conditions of the middle class worsened and they became increasingly impoverished. The same occurred with the means they had used to build their capital, mainly education, whose quality was deteriorating with the consequence that they had to begin to invest relatively more in education if they did want not to lose their “status” (Toche et al. 2003). After the 1980s they were victims of successive adjustment programs. Thus, the middle class was progressively reduced as a consequence of economic crises, hyperinflation, and internal political violence. In the 1990s the processes of privatization, liquidation of state enterprises and institutions, and the reduction of the state apparatus also had a strong impact because it left those that lost their jobs as state bureaucrats in a vulnerable position. “The new neo-liberal forces, made up by foreign

³⁴ They are mainly represented by state bureaucrats, civil and military technocrats

³⁵ The University became a battle field where the emerging middle classes expressed their displeasure and faced the hegemony of the upper classes. Different political organizations and intellectual circles appeared in the middle class, which, in opposition to the oligarchic regime, proposed an egalitarian society (Fuller 2004)

capital, the great national entrepreneurship, and civil and military technocrats, directed public spending at security and external debt payment. This led to a decrease in self-confidence in the middle class" (Toche 2009:151).

Additionally, as Toche et al. (2003) explain, with the extension of citizenship through the Constitution of 1979, politicians began to view the poor, rather than the middle class, with increasing interest given that they were a larger social sector and it was easier to win their votes. As a consequence, the traditional middle class was losing space in the political discourse, and the power and capacity to pressure politicians. Most of the middle class, therefore, no longer able to aspire to be wealthy, became for the first time the new poor with their own educational, social and cultural characteristics. When their wages decreased, they no longer had access to the goods and services they had previously purchased. These sectors were trapped in a situation in which the state "on the one hand, reacted under the constraints imposed by the wealthier sectors and, on the other, focused its attention on the poorest" (Toche 2009: 156)

Different reasons are given for the progressive decline of the traditional middle class which have been carefully analyzed by Toche (2009). First, the traditional middle class's misfortune is attributed to an accumulation pattern that never consolidated given that the brief and insecure growth led to a predominance of short-term strategies. Second, structural changes in social, political and economic terms increased in the 1990s, deconstructing and fragmenting the middle class making it difficult for them to construct an identity and limiting their social reproduction. Moreover, the failure of the developmental model and the turn toward neoliberalism determined not only their de-capitalization but also their political contraction and invisibility. Finally, from a more critical perspective, Toche et al. (2003) explain that the reduction and eventual extinction of the middle class was in direct relation to their absence of ideas, lack of leaders, dwindling of savings, lack of quality services, and an increasingly restricted market.

The emergence of the new rising middle class

In parallel to the decline of the traditional middle class there was an emergence of informal entrepreneurs, as a result of Andean migration which led to a new urban configuration. They formed a new rising middle class³⁶. The rising middle class is essentially made up of

³⁶ According to Fuller (2004), some authors suggest that the traditional middle class has disappeared and has been replaced by this rising middle class. However, this author remarks that this binary interpretation which suggests the appearance of a new middle class as proof of the death of the former one, does not consider this

migrants of provincial origin who came to the cities, especially Lima, between the 1960s and 1970s. They occupied the periphery of the cities in human settlements and began a process of economic accumulation between the 1980s and 1990s, using individual initiative to develop small family businesses and medium-sized enterprises. Their ascendant trajectory was mainly situated in the context of an informal economy³⁷ and their original material expectations were fundamentally expressed in home ownership (Weyland 1996, Varillas 1997, Tapia 1997, Toche et al. 2003, Osorio 2006).

In relation to their successful trajectory they consider that they have "triumphed in life", and view their life as a continuous progress that they can now enjoy (Yanaylle 1997, Toche et al. 2003). A remarkable characteristic of the socio-economic success that distinguishes this group is that it has been achieved in most cases in the context of a state that is either absent or whose intervention is limited. As different authors mention, they rose without the "shadow" of a state (Toche 2009) or with their backs to the state (Melendez 2013a) as there was no social policy system that would care for them in terms of labour laws, social security, public health system and so on (Toche et al. 2003, Filgueira 2005)³⁸. In fact, the beginning of their emergence occurred with the collapse of the Peruvian state³⁹.

Thus, it is mainly through their own efforts, work and willpower that most of them have created a life project starting from scratch and developing despite adverse conditions. Their success is generally attributed to individual effort and an entrepreneurial attitude supported by family and kinship networks. In the view of influential Latin American neoliberal sectors, this informal sector excluded from the influence of the state has not engaged in "rent seeking" which characterized the region's "politicized market economies" (Barzelay 1986 cited by Weyland 1996:11). Rather, they are extolled as model entrepreneurs who demonstrate that a market system can work in Latin America under the form of a "popular capitalism" (De Soto 1989 & Piñera 1993 cited by Weyland, 1996:11).

From a critical perspective, Cotler (PODER 2013:38) argues that the logic that underlies De Soto's argument is 'you can do it on your own, you don't need the state', and this sector

emerging class as the result of an increasing internal differentiation within the middle class and a general heterogeneity of urban life which characterizes late capitalism as Harvey (1990) points out.

³⁷ Due to limited job creation in industry during the state-led ISI, many urban residents had to survive on "income-earning activities unregulated by the state" (Portes and Schuffler 1993:48 cited by Weyland, 1996)

³⁸ Although what perhaps best characterizes the relation between this sector and the Peruvian State is ambiguity. On the one hand, it is a state that allows it to operate in an informal manner and which establishes clientelist relations in order to provide certain services such as property rights and sanitation; but on the other, it does not offer quality basic services in health, education and safety and security

³⁹ A classic sociological study that reflects this complex period is the Jose Matos Mar's book called "Desborde popular y crisis del Estado" published in 1988

effectively has to do things on their own, not because they want to, but because they have no alternative in view of the absence of the state. Toche (2009) affirms that both the absence of the state and adverse contexts created around the development of the rising middle class can be perceived as a "disequilibrium" in the relationship between them and the state with contradictory effects: due to the strong individualism that characterizes this group the state can be perceived as intrusive interfering with their expectations. But, at the same time, their demands are expressed as complaints against the inefficiency of this state that leaves them vulnerable .

The expansion and consolidation of the New Rising Middle Class. The recent decade

The sustained economic growth that the country has experienced in the last fifteen years has permitted this new middle class to expand, mainly through a substantial increase in their earnings and processes of ascendant social mobility which, according to some authors, has led them to become the "driving force behind progress in our country" (Tuesta 2010, Jaramillo y Zambrano 2013, Arellano 2013)⁴⁰. Currently they constitute around 30% of the population mainly located in socio economic level C ⁴¹. However, a recent study of the Inter-American Development Bank (Jaramillo y Zambrano 2013) on the middle class in Peru, carried out during 2005-2011 divides this sector into two categories: the consolidated middle class (with a monthly income of between \$570 and \$1230) that constitute around 50% of the population; and the precarious emerging sector (with an income of between \$350 and \$566) which are around 20% of the population. This latter group has risen out of poverty but continues to be vulnerable to poverty, hence the term precarious⁴². In spite of criticisms of the methods of measuring the middle class and discrepancies regarding the real magnitude of this growth (Torres 2013, Yamada y Cuba 2013), there is, however, consensus in terms of its significant expansion and consolidation.

The phenomenon of middle class expansion is a common pattern in the Latin American region and it is possible to find common features in the processes of emergence and

⁴⁰ However critical voices argue that "an informal, precarious, anti-state (in the worst sense of the term) and anti-political middle class, cannot be motor of development although their accumulation's capacity exceeds to an Asian Tiger" (Melendez 2013b)

⁴¹ Families from level C have an average family income of \$1060 and are composed of 4.3 persons on average. The head of the household is, in most cases, an independent worker (merchant, micro-entrepreneur, skilled worker...) who has completed secondary school and, in some cases, higher technical education. Two people contribute to the family income but one of them does only occasionally. Their income allows them to cover their basic needs and allocate resources to new spending categories on goods and services (APEIM)

⁴² They are vulnerable if they lose their jobs, have a debilitating accident or there is death amongst the breadwinners in the household.

definition of these rising middle classes⁴³. These include their emergence from poverty, their capital accumulation and the improvement of their opportunities their heterogeneity⁴⁴, their individual trajectories of social mobility, and the expansion of consumption and credit as signs of distinction of an 'aspirational' character (De Oliveira 2010, Mendez 2010, Toche 2010).

However, there are also significant differences in the conditions for their emergence and consolidation as well as in the response of the State to these processes among these three countries. While in Brazil and Chile, the emergence of the rising middle class has benefited from both the expansion of redistribution policies that have provided them with networks of social protection (De Oliveira 2010, Mendez 2010), the Peruvian case has been different. Despite the economic relevance of this social sector, the state has not made serious efforts to contribute to their consolidation or their capitalization. The kinds of policies that would aim at satisfying the concerns and interests of the rising middle class (or at least would have a positive impact on them) have not been implemented in Peru⁴⁵ (Arellano 2008, Toche 2010, OECD 2012, Cotler 2013). This is also influenced by another distinctive feature of the emerging sector, their level of informality. As Melendez (2013b) argues, "it is not the same a formal middle class that pay taxes (and therefore makes demands of the State) and has access to employment benefits (whether private or state), than an informal middle class that systematically evades the regulations and moves on the borders of illegality"⁴⁶.

The cynicism in this sector regarding what the State and its institutions can do for them partially explain the limited political and public action that characterizes the Peruvian rising middle class. As Yamada (Yamada y Cuba 2013) points out "we have a middle class that disregards everything the State may offer them because they consider it to be of poor quality, and that disregards political discussion because it is of no interest to them as the State does not systematically offer them anything hopeful". However, this lack of interest in the search for political representation also responds to their own lack of willingness and

⁴³ I basically compare the Peruvian RMC process with the process of the 'popular middle class' in Brazil and the 'new Chilean' in Chile

⁴⁴ The rising middle class is a heterogeneous conglomerate as a consequence of different modalities of employment, level of income and educational profiles as well as socialization patterns, life-style and consumer patterns (Mendez and Gallo 2007, Arellano 2010)

⁴⁵ I am referring to effective policies and strategies to promote the formalization of micro and small enterprises, the expansion of social protection networks and the improvement of public services among others

⁴⁶ Although a recent World Bank's study (2013) points out the formal employment as a distinctive sign of the middle class in Latin America, Peruvian researchers recognize that the level of informality has not been quantified in the emerging sector in Peru but it is presumed that it still prevails in the majority of jobs (Arellano 2013)

ability to gather interests, to develop identities and to promote mobilization around them, as Toche (pers.comm. 12 July 2012) points out RMC has not become either a social or political actor, they have not generated demands in terms of public policies. According to the author, even in areas more directly related to economic growth such as the expansion of credit and consumption, where the RMC over-indebtedness rates are quite high, this inability to gather interests is notable. The extreme weakness and almost absence of consumer organizations is a clear expression of this, which contrasts with the experiences of other countries such as Chile, Argentina or Brazil where there are strong consumer organizations.

Thus, the "poor" civil society in the Peruvian RMC is explained by different causes such as the absence of the Peruvian State's effort to generate minimal conditions that allow the RMC to consolidate, capitalize and become social actors with national representativeness and capable of generating a type of demand that impacts on the State; the absence of party political representation under which the RMC has emerged; the prevalence of individual mobility patterns; and the lack of a consolidated identity. As Toche (pers.comm. 12 July 2012) points out "this social sector has not been able to develop distinctive signs that show and affirm an identity in which underlies a coherent narrative of a group with hegemonic aspirations that has self-confidence when facing risks. Its lifestyle perhaps reveals fleeting ostentation and a circumstantial use of opportunities but a shared destiny does not exist".

An additional aspect which is central in the context of this study, refers to how economic growth and the prevalence of a market society has led to the process of consolidation of the RMC occurring through the endeavour to satisfy needs through the private sector. As Vergara (2013) points out, having more money gives this social class the possibility of having access to services provided by the private sector and not the State (such as education, health, security). In this sort of neoliberal citizen what is implicit is that the individual is responsible for ensuring his own security by purchasing it on the market, and assume entrepreneurial attitudes in order to obtain the necessary resources (Balarin, 2011). In contrast to other societies where this kind of citizen emerges from the state's neoliberal turn, where the responsibility for delivering security has shifted from the state to the individual, in the case of the Peruvian RMC there has been a lack or absence of state provision since it started emerging. Economic growth and the availability of money make it possible for the state to be replaced by the market. This seems to be the case regarding the provision of educational services, where the rising middle class has opted to replace the lack of state intervention with their own private investment incurring in higher costs and privatizing public goods.

Throughout their process of expansion and consolidation, the rising middle class has attributed a high value to education as a mechanism for progress and class identity (Varillas 1997, Yanaylle 1997, Pedraglio 2003, Toche et al. 2003, Osorio 2006). At the beginning, in their process of emergence, the rising middle class was considered as bearer of ‘the myth of education’ where the main assumption is that access to education is almost a sufficient condition for aspiring to a better lifestyle, and being accepted by the upper classes (Varillas 1997, Yanaylle 1997, Toche 2009)⁴⁷. In fact, their process to become the rising middle class was mainly through the professionalization reached by the second generation of migrants surpassing their parents’ education (Pedraglio 2003). Additionally, education is not only conceived as the acquisition of knowledge and skills, but also as a socialization process enabling the building of networks that will be essential to ensure success in life (Toche et al. 2003).

However, after the steady deterioration of the state education system to which the first generations of migrants mainly had access, the option for private education has emerged as an alternative that would permit their social reproduction or their social mobility to continue. As a consequence, education is an area in which families tend to invest. This process has been strongly reinforced by the decrease in the RMC family size and the substantial increase in private school offer (Cuenca 2013).

2.3 The evolution of the Peruvian Educational System and the Current Education Market

In this section a brief reference to the evolution of the Peruvian Educational System is included covering a period of time since the first generation of RMC migrants’ were users of the system until now. The purpose is to present important characteristics in the development of the state educational system – such as its significant expansion at the expense of a progressive deterioration of the quality and its progressive segmentation and inequality –, its relation with the recent increasing of the private offer, and the situation of the current education market.

⁴⁷ Degregori (1991:6) refers to this as “naive trust in the power of education to do away with the social order and adverse situation of being a servant, exploited and deceived and that their children should not suffer but be “worthy””

1950s-1980s: A benefactor state and the significant expansion of the educational system

In the second half of the 20th century the educational system experienced an unprecedented growth mainly under populist governments. This led to a significant reduction in illiteracy, broad coverage of primary education, and a rapid increase in both secondary and university education (Lopez 1997, Oliart 2011). The impetus for this growth is attributed by authors such as Contreras (1996) and Oliart (2011) to a genuine interest of the state to extend the coverage of the system in the context of the increasing democratization that took place in the second half of the 20th century, where the right to education was assumed as a democratic right⁴⁸. An indicator of this interest is the progressive and significant increase in public spending on education⁴⁹. However, authors such as Rama (1994), Lopez (1997) and also Oliart (2011) point out that demands for education as a social right and the consequent expansion of the educational system also responded to the pressure of social demands associated with grass-roots organizations, agricultural and student movements and transformation projects represented by alliances with strong participation of the middle class and supported by organized labor groups who aspired to improve their opportunities for development and social integration.

- The expansion of the state education

Regarding the Latin American context, Gomez Buendia et al. (1997) maintain that state consolidation was an essential condition for the expansion of state education. Three processes affected state intervention in education: demographic explosion and urbanization, occupational changes, and cultural vitality and pluralism, which explain the subsequent tendencies that were introduced in this period and strengthened in the following decades. The authors point out that the state responded to these trends in three ways. The first was to strengthen the centralization of state education. Education policy was imposed by the central government following a “top-down” process. This led to a huge growth of the state educational apparatus and the educational system was exposed, since the beginning, to corporatist pressures and electoral uses. The second element is the focus on the middle

⁴⁸ In this sense, Lopez (1997: 320) states that the right to education is a democratic right and as such it has followed the same vicissitudes of democracy in Peru “when it was restricted, access to education was also restricted and became an exclusive right of the middle and upper classes. When the democratization process intensified, access to education also became more democratic, and it was declared a right for all”

⁴⁹ Between 1950 and 1961 government expenditure in education doubled from 1.6 to 3.2 per cent of GNP. During the next decade government expenditure in education rose to 5 per cent of GNP (1964-67) (Sagasti et. al 2007).

class. The middle class created their own political parties or increased their capacity for mobilization in order to satisfy their own educational aspirations.

As was already mentioned, in Peru the industrialization process occurred late (1950s – 1960s) and led to a productive and economic development. However, this development did not require massive recruitment of qualified people for industry, mining or agriculture. In consequence, the first impact of economic modernization on popular schooling was relatively reduced and the early educational benefits of the benefactor state were captured by the middle classes. In Latin America, the middle classes started to develop a capacity for political mobilization which had a strong impact on the ulterior evolution of the educational system. However, this effect was not so powerful in the case of the Peruvian middle class because those who had the economic means preferred to migrate to the private system. The third element is that the “labour value” of education prevailed over its political value. In the middle of the XX century, the efforts of the state in education were defended almost exclusively as an investment in human capital. Economic growth brought improvements in technology and the role of the school as a differential labour improvement tool became more important than its political-ideological role in building the nation, forming citizenship and legitimizing the State (Gomez Buendia et al. 1997).

- *The deterioration of quality and the progressive inequality in the educational system*

A critical aspect of this expansion was that it was achieved at the expense of a progressive deterioration of the quality and efficiency of the state educational system (Oliart 2011). It is necessary to note that both effects have failed to be reversed over time and rather constituted the beginning of an increasing crisis in state education. Another relevant feature that characterized this expansion was the exclusion of rural areas where the situation of education have not changed significantly in these decades, despite a relative increase in access to school and the development of alternative models of school management, more appropriated to a rural context (for example the Communal Educational Core NEC, 1972-1977) (Ames 2010). However, in general, state school problems were further aggravated in rural schools that attended to the indigenous and poorest population of the country, which include the grandparents of the first migrant's generation of this study. These schools continued to provide a very limited education. According to Vazquez (1965, cited by Ames 2010) this education was characterized by the absenteeism of teachers, their poor teaching performance, the use of physical punishment and the teaching of literacy in Spanish for a population predominantly monolingual in a native language. As a consequence, rural

schools presented the highest levels of disapproval, truancy and over-age students (Ames 2010, Thorp and Paredes 2011). A similar situation occurred with night schools which catered for the lower social class in urban areas. The grandparents from this study also attended these night schools when they migrated to Lima. This segmented and discriminatory character of the educational system in socio-cultural terms of race, class and culture, persists. (Bello y Villaran 2004, Oliart 2011, De Belaunde 2011).

The eighties: Crisis of the State and a lost decade for education

The critical period corresponding to the eighties which has been reviewed in the first section of this chapter, did not contribute to advances in the functioning of the educational system but led to its crisis due to minimal investment and public expenditure. The first government (1980-1985) was entrusted with dismantling the advances made in the educational reform promoted by the previous military government; and the second government (1985-1990) was an example of corruption among the political elite in Peru and was strongly opposed by the teachers' union (SUTEP) (Oliart 2011). Additionally, state schools were penetrated by extremist movements that threatened the political stability of the country, especially in rural areas, and to a lesser extent in peripheral urban areas, where subversive groups took advantage to train and ideologically educate students and teachers (Navarro 2002, CVR 2003).

The nineties: Educational Restructuration and the Peruvian turn toward neoliberalism in education

The nineties was a first period of a restructuring process of the Peruvian educational system which corresponded with the Fujimori authoritarian regime (1990-2000). It was mainly characterized by the attempt at modernization of the educational administration at different levels (national, subnational and local) as well as the transfer of capacities and autonomy to the schools. Likewise, this included a market-oriented trend opening up the participation of the private sector in the delivery of educational services (Balarin 2012). As in most Latin American countries, this significant attempt to restructure the educational system was aimed at improving access and quality in order to promote educational equity⁵⁰. In practice, however, the reforms were mainly directed at increasing access.

⁵⁰ Between 1994 and 2001 the Latin America Educational Reform was promoted and led by the World Bank in association with other international development agencies as well as international donors.

The reform process included changes in different critical areas of the educational system which were carried out through the strengthening of the Ministry of Education (national level). All the decision-making processes were concentrated in the Lima headquarters of the Ministry, which was responsible for leading the reform process through the design and implementation of a new national curriculum, educational materials, teacher-training programs, a national system of student assessment, improvements in infrastructure and so on. Although subnational levels were also included in the process of strengthening, there were no relevant advances and the legal framework meant that the main functions were concentrated at the national level. Similarly, measures adopted to promote the autonomy of schools, mainly through local management of school education projects, in practice made only limited progress (Ames 2010, De Belaunde 2011, Oliart 2011, Balarin 2012).

In this context, another relevant change was the promotion of privatization and the liberalization of the educational market. Although by then the Peruvian Political Constitution (1993) allowed the private provision of educational services, the Peruvian Educational System was predominantly public. As in many other countries, private education was mainly used by the upper class and the upper-middle class. However, as Navarro (2002) points out, private sector participation in school education was significant and took various forms. In addition to the “pure” form – private school without public subsidy – there were also “mixed” patterns composed of public schools managed by non-State entities (usually religious congregations), and private schools which were state-financed but also received supplementary financial contributions and had a different internal organization⁵¹. These mixed forms were used by lower-income sectors. For 1999, the composition of school enrollment (including primary and secondary school) was as follows:

Table 1. Enrollment in School Education by type of Educational Management

Type of Educacional Management	Enrollment	% of Enrollment
State	5'235,207	87%
Private	515,299	8.56%
Mixed	265,783	4.44%
Total	6'016,289	100%

Source: School Census 1999, quoted by Navarro 2002. Own preparation

⁵¹ “Usually the transfer of public subsidies to privately managed schools took place through the payment of teachers but there was not a regulatory framework that would provide universal and clear rules for both the procurement and maintenance of public subsidies, and the accountability to the State” (Navarro 2002)

- *The first boost: A Legal framework promoting privatization and the liberalization of the education market*

At the beginning of the nineties, there was a first attempt to introduce the market into state education following the voucher system for financing education adopted by Chile which generated strong rejection on the part of the Peruvian teachers' union (SUTEP) and led to the organization of civil society groups that condemned it as a massive attempt at privatizing primary and secondary school resulting in the state neglecting its responsibility to provide education as a public service (Rivero 1999, Navarro 2002, Oliart 2011, Balarin 2012). Later, in 1996, a legal framework was enacted inviting the private sector to play an increasingly important role in financing and providing educational services (Legislative Decree No. 882).

As in other many countries, the legal framework allows the private sector to establish, promote, lead and manage educational institutions. However, contrary to many other countries where the introduction of the market in education has carefully considered the history, culture and politics of that particular society to determine the shape it will take, the extent of the use of market forms, the purposes that it is intended to serve, and the kind of market mechanism to use (Lauder et al. 1999, Gewirtz et al. 1995); in the case of Peru private sector participation has not arisen primarily through public policy design aimed at achieving well defined quality and equity goals, but as Sosale (2000) points out, it has been mainly affected by the design and limitations of public policy.

This promotion of private investment in education translated into a rapid and disordered growth in the supply of private school education mainly focused in urban areas during the next decade and corresponded with strong economic growth. As shown in the introduction, enrollment in the private education system increased from 15.8% in 1998 to 25.1% in 2010 (MINEDU, School census) having as main consumers the new emergent sector in Lima. This increase occurred without an appropriate regulatory framework to put some order into private education, which lacked a system of school assessment and had very limited (or inexistent) systems of local control.

The most recent decade (2001-2011):

The second period in the restructuring of the Peruvian educational system started with the transition to a democratic regime in 2001, which was extended during the last decade in the governments of Toledo (2001-2006), García (2006-2011) and the current government of Humala (2011-2016). During this period there has been greater focus on the development

of good governance with a strong emphasis on the decentralization process, democratization, voice and participation, and accountability.

Peru started the new millennium with high achievements in terms of access to school education (with the exception of pre-school education), but with very poor progress in quality and equity, both being critical factors to ensure sustainable development, contribute toward social cohesion and improve country competitiveness. The last results of the national exam in compulsory education (ECE 2012) show that only 30.9% of Peruvian students achieve satisfactory performance in language, and 12.8% achieve similar performance in mathematics. These results vary regarding geographical area, where only 7% of students from rural schools achieve satisfactory performance in language, and 5.8% in mathematics. There are also differences according to type of school management. In private schools 51.4% of students achieve satisfactory performance in language, and 16.5% in mathematics⁵². These poor results reveal both the poor quality and the high inequality of the educational system⁵³.

- *A State committed to Education?*

Even if the low quality of the education system is not taken into account, and we focus on the remarkable achievements in terms of enrollment several authors have assumed a critical position in relation to the intervention of the State because they argue that the increase in the number of schools occurred without additional significant State spending (Bello 2002, Bello y Villarán 2004). As Bello states (2002:68) “the great paradox of Peruvian schooling in the nineties can be summarized in the following phrase: greater enrollment with less public expenditure on education”. In the next decade the situation did not change significantly. While the average state education expenditure was 2.25% of GDP during the 90s, it only increased to 2.82% during the next decade despite the fact that economic growth was significantly higher (CEPAL: Database on social spending 2010)⁵⁴.

According to Bello (2002), the reduced public expenditure on education was supplemented by the families' contribution which varies considerably according to their economic capacity,

⁵² Source: UMC- Ministry of Education, Peru 2013

⁵³ In a similar trend, the results of PISA 2009 show that 35% of Peruvian students achieved a satisfactory level (level 2) (occupying last place among the Latin American countries). Moreover, the probability of achieving this level varies considerably regarding quartiles of population: 62% for quartile 4 (richest) and 9% for quartile 1 (poorest). This is one of the highest gaps in Latin America (Source: OCDE)

⁵⁴ In a ranking of the World Bank (2001), among 144 countries Peru ranks 15 in relation to school enrollment for ages 6 to 18, but at the same time, it ranks 118 in relation to State expenditure for public education (in Bello 2002:68)

it being more difficult for poor families to offer enough material support for the education of their children. In correspondence with this, a study carried out by Saavedra and Suarez (2002) found that State spending is lower in the poorest areas of the country; and that, at the same time, parents tend to contribute more to the education of their children in the areas of the country where State expenditure is greater and the schools are better equipped. As Bello (2002) and Belaúnde (2011) conclude, in this way the inequalities and mechanisms for the reproduction of inequities are reproduced within the state education system itself.

- *An unprecedented increase in private education*

As already mentioned, private education stopped being an “exclusive” service which only the upper class and the upper middle class had access to and extended to other social sectors, especially to the new emergent middle class in urban areas. The greatest increase has occurred in Lima where almost 30% of the Peruvian population lives. Here private enrollment reached 47% on average in 2012 and 66.4% of schools are private while 33.6% are State⁵⁵. Moreover, this trend seems to be extending to the other main cities of the country where private enrollment surpasses the national average as in the case of Arequipa, Lambayeque, Ica, Tacna and La Libertad (ESCALE-MED 2013). According to a recent study of Cuenca (2013), there are at least three conditions that would be contributing directly to the expansion of private schools in Lima. The first is the prevalence of laws and the legal framework that encourage the creation of private schools. In addition to Legislative Decree No. 882, passed in 1996, the General Education Law (2004) states that parents have the right to choose a school for their children, and that the private sector contributes to the expansion of coverage, to innovation, quality and the financing of educational services (Article 5).

The second favourable condition is the steady economic growth that the country has experienced for more than ten years. This is particularly relevant in “poor” districts that have experienced the greatest economic growth. This trend, which seems to be continuing, means that poor families in Lima have seen an increase in their income and education is an area in which families tend to invest their money. It is precisely in some emerging districts of Lima that the growth in the demand and supply of private education is particularly striking⁵⁶. According to a recent study carried out by the Inter-American Development Bank (Jaramillo & Zambrano, 2013) between 2003 and 2009, more than 1’000,000 families joined the

⁵⁵ Statistics from the Ministry of Education. School Census (ESCALE-MED)

⁵⁶ Currently, in two emblematic emerging districts in the north of Lima (I refer to the districts of “Los Olivos” and “San Martín de Porres”), the offer of private schools is significantly larger than State ones (80% vs. 20%), and private enrollment has reached 50%, largely surpassing the national average (ESCALE-MED)

country's middle class and, despite their willingness to spend up to 20 percent of household income on education, there is a scarcity of schools offering services in their neighborhoods or their performance is poor or both these factors occur. The third condition that contributes to the increase in private enrolment is the demographic trend. Family size has begun to decrease, especially in urban areas and areas with greater economic growth⁵⁷. This reduction in the family size would also be facilitating the payment of private education. Having reached this point, it is necessary to take the time to consider and analyze the aspects that characterize this rapidly growing Peruvian education market.

- *The Peruvian educational market: A 'raw' and highly segmented market*

The introduction of the market into education around the world has led to strong debates and political conflict in many countries. , Although market-oriented reforms have adopted a variety of forms, those regarded as central include: the local management of schools where school budgets and important decision-making responsibilities are devolved to school managers and governing bodies; educational diversity and parental choice; the generation of conditions in order for parents to have equal knowledge about schools as well as equal ability and opportunity to send their children to the schools of their choice (under the basic assumption that without choice there is no market); pupil-led funding from the budget that is delegated to schools, the greater part of which is determined on the basis of the number and ages of the pupils attending the school (Gewirtz et al. 1995, Woods et al. 1998, Lauder et al. 1999, Gorard et al. 2003, Seppänen 2003).

In the case of Peru, there is no clear and strong policy that supports guides and regulates the proper functioning of the mixed provision model (state and private) that characterizes the Peruvian system. The school offer is highly heterogeneous and segmented in terms of cost and quality within an unregulated market with the choice of school being mainly determined by the purchasing power of families who have access to a restricted and under-used information system. The remainder of this section focuses on an analysis of the features of the Peruvian educational market, a market which could be described as "raw" or "primitive".

o *The lack of policy framework and a precarious legal framework*

The current policy framework only "opens the door" to private investment in education but does not establish the scope and purpose of the Peruvian State in creating and shaping its

⁵⁷ In Lima the average number of family members decreased from 4.5 to 3.5.

system of a mixed provision (state and private), nor the main foundations and blueprints under which the intervention of the market could really contribute to tackling the main challenges of lack of quality and equality in the education system (and prevent it from reinforcing them). This is especially important in a country where the egalitarian commitments expressed in the political and legal frameworks strongly contrast with a social reality inherently segmented and exclusive. The current legal framework only includes a set of measures that states that parents have the right to choose the education establishment for their children allowing the functioning of for profit and non-profit private schools, with the aim of contributing to modernize the education system and broaden the offer, coverage and financing of educational services (General Education Law (2004) Art. 5, and Decree Law 882, Art. 1 and 2). However, there is no mention of how this market should be regulated or how to ensure the basic conditions for its functioning especially regarding the enormous diversity of the educational offer⁵⁸. In view of the lack of a policy guiding the functioning of the market, some members of the Peruvian business community, which is increasingly involved in the education market, have questioned State intervention in education and have blamed it for the poor educational standards, lack of efficiency and the low performance of educational system. They promote liberalizing education from the State clearly aiming at using education mainly as a means to reproduce national labour power.

- *A highly heterogeneous and segmented offer*

Private education offers a highly complex and differentiated system of schools segmented by cost, reputation and oversubscription. This includes a large number of schools which differ widely in educational approach and quality as a consequence of a deregulated market⁵⁹. Although there is little information about the private education market, it is possible to identify at least four main types of private schools or four differentiated 'circuits of schooling', as Ball et al. (1995) call them. These circuits refers to schools that "relate differently to choice, class and space. Different groups of parents 'plug into' each of the circuits and each circuit empowers its students differently in terms of life chances" (Ball et al. 1995:53). The circuits are included in the table 2:

⁵⁸ Such as equal knowledge about schools as well as the equal ability and opportunity for families to send their children to the schools of their choice

⁵⁹ In Lima private schools represent 66.4% of the total number of schools (9523 of 14339) (ESCALE-MED 2013)

Table 2. Circuits of Private Schooling in Lima

<p><u>Élite or 'premium' schools</u>: Highly exclusive private schools, with a long and strong trajectory of academic excellence and prestigious; most are lay but there are also religious schools (among the latter there are schools separated by gender, that is, some are just for girls and others for boys). They are generally bilingual schools, with high standard equipment, good infrastructure, a wide range of extracurricular activities offering sports and cultural activities. Most of them offer the International Baccalaureate. Fees range between 1,400 and 3,100 soles (\$530 and \$1175) and entrance fees are between \$4000 and \$10,000.</p>
<p><u>Progressive middle class private schools</u>: This group includes school with a good academic level but with a greater variety of educational approaches. Some of them emphasize the pupil-teacher relationship and offer personalized teaching, or offer an education focused on the pupils' autonomy and freedom; others stress the importance of bilingual education or the achievement of a good level in another language. This group includes both schools with a long educational trajectory as well as new schools. Fees range between 600 and 1100 soles (\$226 and \$500) and entrance fees are between \$1500 and \$3000.</p>
<p><u>Private Schools for consolidated emerging sectors</u>: This group is one of the ones that has grown the most in the last decades and includes a diversity of heterogeneous schools both in terms of size and infrastructure as well as quality and educational philosophy. Schools organized as part of a network are important in this group. These schools replicate a prototype school in the different districts of Lima (especially in the peripheral districts), established as a network and reproducing infrastructure, equipment, educational approach, teacher quality and costs. The best known are those called <i>pre-university schools</i> that have been in the educational market for more than 20 years, principally offering entry for their students in the top state universities (UNI, San Marcos), and also private ones such as the Catholic University. The possibility of university entry is the distinguishing feature of these schools and they are very popular in emerging districts⁶⁰. They are sold as highly competitive and very demanding schools. They constantly advertise the ranking of their former students that have entered university or those who achieved the best performance in maths competitions held at a national level⁶¹.</p> <p>A new type of <i>network of schools</i> has recently entered the market, financed by corporations or local financial groups. In one case they have even received funding from the Inter-American Development Bank (it is the first funding of this kind in Latin America). These schools offer high quality pre-school, primary and secondary school education, with a modern infrastructure and at accessible prices. They apply a model of learning based on competences, designed to reproduce international accreditation standards, employing an</p>

⁶⁰ For a long time these institutions called "academias pre universitarias" offered intense training for students who finished secondary school to prepare them to enter university given the large gap between the education received in schools and university entry requirements. In the late 1990s several of these institutions extended their educational offer to primary and secondary schools.

⁶¹ One of the most well-known networks of pre-university schools, called Trilce has 18 schools in Lima and an annual turnover of almost \$37 million

innovative methodology, centre don research, cooperation, the use of technology, strengthening of character and the intensive use of English. In both cases the fees are under 600 soles (\$225).

"Low cost" schools: They are the schools that have increased the most in the last few years, although some of them have been operating for a long time. They offer lower quality education and are principally directed at the precarious rising sectors. Most of them function in family houses converted into schools, many of them without consideration to minimal conditions of infrastructure, equipment and cleanliness that correspond to a school. Many of them function with few students. They are an attractive option, especially for lower-income families. Fees range between \$30 and \$95.

This private offer coexists with the increasingly discredited state school. The top and bottom ends of the circuits of schooling are obvious choices for the upper classes ('premium' schools) and the lower classes (most of them in state schools) respectively, while for those in the middle there are more opportunities for mobility. The main migration from state schools to private ones has occurred toward schools for the consolidated middle class and low cost schools. This structure of the educational market where the patterns of choice and enrolment are strongly associated to a highly stratified social structure is more consistent with social conflict theory view than pro-market theory where there is a random distribution across the social class spectrum of parental choice. This structure is characterized by separate and identifiable socio-economic groups, with the more disadvantaged sections of society becoming concentrated in some schools, and the more advantaged sections concentrated in others (Lauder et. al 1999). This is contrary to the view of a market as being formally neutral. Rather the market "masks its social bias reproducing the inequalities which consumers bring to the market place. Under the guise of neutrality, the institution of the market actively conforms and reinforces the pre-existing social order of wealth, privilege and prejudice" (Ranson cited by Evans and Vincent 1997: 107).

- *Choice is mainly restricted by the families' purchasing power*

As Reay and Lucey (2004:36) point out, the prevalent focus on choice within educational theorizing is "never far from notions of 'agency', usually taken to contain ideas about 'creative and reflexive' subjects who are knowledgeable and responsible actors". Choice is also related to the "discourse of individualism which places emphasis on each life being played out according to the person, rather than the context; that we choose our own options" (David et al. 1997 cited by Reay and Lucey 2003:124). However, as they also note this approach to choice "often masks the fact that choice is a market of economic privilege"

(Reay and Lucey 2003:121). In the current Peruvian private educational system families are making different kinds of choices within very different circumstances and constraints. Degrees of choice are constrained, in the first place, by the economic resources of families, which strongly determine to which circuit of schooling they have access to as well as their social and cultural resources to take advantage of choice as a mechanism for the take up of education resources. As Brown (1995:24) argues, “educational selection is increasingly based on the wealth and wishes of parents rather than the individual abilities and efforts of students”. It is this ideology of parentocracy which dominates education today. In this context, it is more appropriate to understand choice as ‘constraint’ than freedom of ‘choice’. This research follows the tradition of a body of work on educational choice by social conflict theorists who reveal some of the ways in which education markets recognize and reward economic, cultural and social capital and ‘punish’ those without such resources (Lauder et al. 1999, Thrupp 1999, Reay and Lucey 2003, 2004).

- *An unregulated market: lack of certification and heterogeneity of quality*

Despite the high heterogeneity of the educational offer and the evidence of low performance in most of them (according to the National Exam in compulsory education results - ECE), there are no evaluation and accreditation mechanisms that regulate the provision of educational services in either public or private schools. Although the National System of Evaluation, Accreditation and Certification (SINEACE) was created in 2009, and includes the Peruvian Institute of Quality Evaluation, Accreditation and Certification for Basic Education (IPEBA) only very limited initiatives for the formulation of standards and school self-evaluation processes have been implemented in some schools but there is still no system of school accreditation that assesses the functioning of schools.

- *Restricted and under-used information system*

School performance information is seen as an important basis on which parents make their choice of school. As a consequence, many countries have developed a system of performance indicators for the education market, through, for example, national tests and the publication of league tables with examination results in order to contribute to an informed choice (Gewirtz et al. 1995, Lauder et al. 1999). In the case of Peru, although the Ministry of Education makes a strong effort to report national test results to both schools and families (this includes public and private schools), given the lack of clarity about the adequate management of a mixed educational provision system, the compilation of ‘league tables’ is

not published. Thus, there is not a culture of informed parental choice based on school performance.

Regarding this point, it is worth noticing that the Ministry of Education has been delivering individual reports to families with the results of national standardized tests in the curriculum areas of Communication (Spanish) and Mathematics in the last three years (2010, 2011, 2012). Despite the evidence of low performance, parents from neither state nor private schools have strongly reacted and complained about this. This situation of apparently low expectations and limited action has been characterized by some researchers as 'a low level equilibrium' in the provision of and demand for education services (Cotlear 2006).

This characterization of the current Peruvian education market is relevant to understanding the education field where RMC parents take decisions about schools for their children. As we will analyze in this study parents bring to the field their embodied history, their habituated practice, and their access to capitals.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The theoretical architecture of this research is based on the multilevel explanatory scheme proposed by Bourdieu (structure – disposition – practice) whose force is “to make explicit the connections between the properties of social organizations as systems, the nature of dispositions to act held by social members, and the nature and function of the practices they adopt” (Nash 2010: 18). Following this scheme, I suggest that the structures of RMC life, specifically the political economic outlook that has historically prevailed in its relationship with the Peruvian state, is expressed in education in an increasing option for private schools. The adoption of this disposition has also been strongly influenced by the rapid process of transformation of this rising sector characterized by upward social mobility, where the preference for private schools enhances their position within a highly segmented and exclusive social hierarchy.

Although I recognize the centrality of Bourdeurian concepts on which I rely heavily for the construction of the theoretical architecture, it also draws on an eclectic perspective considering various literatures and conceptual frameworks to gain complementary insights for the development of this analytical scheme. This chapter presents the theoretical frame by firstly looking at the practices of parents drawn from educational sociology which is used to gain insights into an understanding of Peruvian RMC practices related to parental educational choice. These views of choice are used to analyze to what extent rational and strategic calculations are present in Peruvian RMC parental choice as well as how this practice reflects a ‘practical sense’ and natural logic of this social group, the kind of ‘class wisdom’ as Lauder et al. (1999) call it under which private school choice is ‘made automatically’, ‘taken for granted’ and ‘always assumed’ (Ball 2003).

Secondly, it is hypothesised that there is a strong link between parental dispositions and class formation processes, in the social mobility of RMC. For understanding these processes Bourdieu’s theory of habitus is deployed. However, given that habitus ‘cannot be understood without simultaneous reference to other central concepts such as cultural capital and field’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) the interaction of these three elements is included

for a better understanding of school choice and class formation. In conjunction with this, relevant aspects of the habitus formation process such as its dynamic element, its collective understanding, and its complex interplay between past and present are included to orient the exploration of the habitus formation process within the RMC trajectory⁶². Here I draw on Bourdieu's concepts and the work of others who have appropriated and adapted elements of his work to speak more directly about issues of class formation and educational choice (Conway 1997, Reay 1998, 2004, Hatcher 1998, Ball 2003, Walker and Clark 2010, O'Donoghue 2012).

Finally, in order to understand how over time this habitus has been incorporated by internalizing the broader context of the social and political economic mentality that have prevailed and directed both government and citizen practices, I draw on the ideas of Foucault related to his notion of governmentality: specifically, neo-liberal governmentality and self-enterprising citizens, as a potential route for structuring subjectivities. I find these notions very useful to understand the nature and incorporation of governing and citizenship rationalities linked to the prevalence of specific 'governmental technologies' and 'performative practices' (Lemke 2007). As Olssen et al. (2004) argue the prevalence of a specific form of socio-political organization – such as the Neo Liberal state – is linked to the establishment of a concomitant discourse that permeates and gives rise to a new, dominant, common sense. In this case, it is particularly relevant and focuses on the analysis, the incorporation of the dominant common sense in relation to the withdrawing of state intervention as guarantor of services provision such as education, and citizens assuming directly this provision as 'enterprise of themselves' (Ong 2006).

3.1 Sociological Analysis of Parental Choice in Education: Starting from the social practice

To understand the familial processes in choosing schools, their strategies regarding the education market and its relation to their processes of class formation and maintenance, two central analytical foci have been developed from the perspective of the sociology of education. On the one hand, the rational approach based on Rational Action theorists "who see social actors as essentially strategic and consciously hyper-rational, constantly weighing up choices in relation to outcomes" (Ball 2003:17), and considering the different class locations that they occupy within an unequal society. On the other hand, from a very different ontological position, 'culturalist' explanations of choice – as Hatcher (1998) calls

⁶² Precisely this dynamic understanding of habitus across generations try to be an innovation and one of the main contributions of this study.

them – are mainly based on Bourdieu's work. Hatcher argues that decisions can be understood as a consequence of "practical sense and natural logic of necessity, following a pre-adapted disposition (habitus) with little in the way of deliberate or conscious planning" (in Ball 2003:17). These largely unconscious cultural processes 'bring social destinations into conformity with social origins' (Hatcher 1998:20). Both perspectives have largely focused on the study of parental choice in the education market (Gewirtz et al. 1995, Hatcher 1998, Reay and Ball 1998, Lauder et al. 1999, Reay et al 2001, Ball 2003, Wu 2011), and are taken into account for the exploration and understanding of parental school choice in the Peruvian RMC.

The Rationalist Approach

From Weberian 'social exclusion theory' scholars it is assumed that social actors behave "according to their interests, attempting to maximize the utility of their decisions. Decisions about education progression are made on the basis of calculations of the costs, benefits and probabilities of success of various options. Success is defined in terms of the subsequent economic returns" (Hatcher 1998: 10). Applying the principles of the rational action theory to education, Goldthorpe (1996) argues that "the chief concern of families is that their children should obtain qualifications sufficient to preserve their present class position or, at very least, to guard against any decisive downward mobility" (cited by Hatcher 1998:11).

This rationality is supplemented with the idea of competition for educational credentials as sources of positional advantage (among other sources such as economic sources and social networks). The concept of positional competition was originally elaborated by Hirsch (1977) and was then further developed by Brown (2000) in terms of a *Positional Conflict Theory*. The notion of a conflict of positions highlights the problems arising from the relative position of a person in relation to others in the context of an implicit or explicit hierarchy, where competition for positional goods leads to individuals and/or families to deploy strategies to win, and thus to position themselves better. This includes exclusionary strategies that allow them to maintain or improve their relative position in the hierarchy. Applied to education, this approach regards "an understanding of educational qualifications as 'a screening device' (Hirsch 1977:6), and education as an investment good and an 'arena of competition and social exclusion" (Ball 2003: 15). In this sense, following fundamentally economic calculations, parents will seek to send their children to schools which will be most successful in providing them with high level credentials; exerting their market power to gain a competitive advantage for their children to maximize their chances of gaining access to elite

institutions (Lauder et al. 1999, Ball 2003). This produces the framework for what Brown (1990:65) calls class parentocracy "where a child's education is increasingly dependent upon the wealth and wishes of parents, rather than the ability and efforts of pupils".

The discussion about the implications of education as a positional good in school markets has been developed by different authors (Ranson 1993, Bowe et al. 1995, Lauder et al. 1999) who argued that an increase in the benefits of 'consumption' for one individual is entirely at the expense of benefits to others. Following this, "the private benefits resulting from additional acquisitions by one parent are offset by the negative externalities borne by other parents" (Adnett and Davies 2002:192). These authors distinguish between education as both consumption good and investment good. The former makes reference to "immediate consumption benefits that education provides such as pupils' enjoyment or parents' satisfaction with the status accorded by the social standing of their children's school". The latter refers to "various future benefits (investment) such as enhanced earning capacity, the ability to enjoy a range of cultural and social activities, and the benefits from greater socio-political participation" (Adnett and Davies 2002:192-93).

The frame of reference for consumption decisions in education appears to be shaped by a dual element: the social group to which they aspire and the social groups from which they wish to be separated. Following this perspective, Adnett and Davies (2002:195) affirm that "an individual suffers a negative externality when goods and services they consume are also purchased by members of a group with which they do not wish to be associated and benefits from positive externalities when these goods and services are bought by members of a group to which they wish to belong (by exclusivity, scarcity)". This allows an explanation of social closure practices where parents choose a school for their children on the basis of the class mix of intake searching for a mix that correspond with their aspirations⁶³ (Gewirtz et al. 1995, Echols and Willms 1995, Fiske and Ladd 2000).

Despite the importance of rational and positional competition approaches to understanding the underlying motivation behind parental behavior in schooling markets, as Hatcher (1998:16) concludes "this rational perspective is neither a necessary one nor a sufficient one", especially regarding a highly segmented and exclusive educational system such as the Peruvian one. Moreover, there exist some limitations in rational choice because it contains

⁶³ "Social closure is the means by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restructuring access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles" (Parkin 1979:44 cited by Ball 2003). Bourdieu also refers to this dual element in the acts of closure. On the one hand, there is the recognition of others 'like us', a 'class-attributive judgment'. On the other hand, there is a sense of alienation, of difference, from 'others' not 'like us' (Bourdieu 1986a: 473)

two central conditions that do not occur in reality. These are stressed by Hatcher (1998): a conception of goals or ends of action as being utilitarian, i.e. economically beneficial; and a conception of the means to achieve them as being the strategic calculation of costs, benefits and probabilities (rational, irrational, non-rational). In relation to the former, the author argues that "'rational choice' calculations in education are inevitably 'irrational' given that they are based on insufficient and/or inaccurate information" (Hatcher 1998:17). Regarding the latter, Hatcher draws on studies that illustrate that 'goals are not confined to being utilitarian' (Hatcher 1998:17) (i.e. non utilitarian goals and values, a framework of values that is not reducible to personal utility). In this perspective, it is an error "to counterpose rational choice to culture, rather than seeing it as one element in a culturally-shaped repertoire" (Hatcher 1988:16).

The Culturalist Approach

According to the culturalist perspective chiefly developed by Bourdieu, decisions can be understood "as an operation of 'practical sense' (Bourdieu 1990b: 108) and 'natural logic' of necessity following a pre-adapted disposition (habitus) with little in the way of deliberate or conscious planning" (Ball 2003). In this way, the culturalist approach stands in opposition to the rational approach. The operation of the habitus as generative principle of regulated practice does not need to engage in rational computation in order to reach the goals that best suit their interests. "All that people have to do is follow their dispositions which, being adjusted to their positions, 'naturally' generate practices adjusted to the situation" (Bourdieu 1990b: 108). Habitus is defined as "an embodiment of certain orientations, tastes, modes of thinking, acting, judging, perceiving and appreciating the world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:126) that generates "things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say, in relation to a probable 'upcoming' future" (Bourdieu 1990b:53). As a 'socialised subjectivity' habitus absorbs and matches the characteristics of the socio-cultural environment in which it evolves to be embodied as schemes of perception that enable a practical mastery of the world, a sense of the 'feel for the game' for the world in which individuals move and operate (Nash 2003, Roberts 2012).

In relation to the pre-reflexive level of practical mastery that characterizes the habitus, McNay (1999:100-101) explains that "this is a mode of knowledge that does not necessarily contain knowledge of its own principles and is constitutive of reasonable but not rational behavior: 'it is because agents never know completely what they are doing that what they do

has more sense than they know (Bourdieu 1990b: 69)⁶⁴. Regarding this, habitus is considered as a kind of second-nature or taken-for-granted reflexivity which shapes social action – "the prereflective, infraconscious mastery that agents acquire of their social world by way of durable immersion in it" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:19)⁶⁵. The apparent unconsciousness that prevails in individuals' adjustments to the external world as well as the focus on pre-reflexive dimensions of action in Bourdieu's formulation of habitus has led to widespread criticism, arguing that Bourdieu "overplays the unconscious impulses and aspects of habitus, neglecting mundane everyday reflexivity" (Reay 2004:437).

In order to clarify how habitus operates, Weininger (2005) differentiates habitus from the following of norms and also from the notion of 'habit'. According to Weininger (2005: 91), habitus as a socially constituted system of dispositions "implies a view according to which actions are generated neither by explicit consideration of norms (that is, via the conscious subsumption of the action situation under a morally binding "rule") nor by rational calculation [...] A dispositional understanding implies that under "typical" circumstances, action can proceed on a pre-reflexive basis – that is, without recourse to conscious reflection on rules or estimations of results". On this point the author warns that the notion of habitus "is not to be conflated with that of "habit" (in the ordinary sense), according to which action would only be able to forego reflection to the extent that it was routinized and repetitive. To the contrary, dispositions may generate actions – or, as Bourdieu prefers to say, practices – that are highly spontaneous and inventive" (Weininger 2005:91)⁶⁶.

Another widely debated central aspect of habitus is related to its origins and its temporal character, which frames habitus as a 'dynamic and contingent phenomenon' (O'Mahoney 2007:481). Bourdieu affirms that "social mores are internalized over time through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class. [...] Then, being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structure. It is durable but not eternal!" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:133). I focus more specifically on these characteristics related to the habitus formation process in the next section.

⁶⁴ "'Le sens pratique' is a form of knowledge that is learnt by the body but cannot be explicitly articulated" (McNay 1999:101)

⁶⁵ In relation to this Nash (2003:46) also argues that "although people is aware of what is required and what is not in the ritual order of their lives, seem to possess little or no understanding of its underlying principles".

⁶⁶ It is precisely in those kinds of situations where the need to explain how everyday reflexivity emerges.

Finally, different authors recognize that the strength of the habitus as a sociological concept lies in its attempt to transcend or reconcile dualisms of agency-structure, objectivity and subjectivity, micro and macro, freedom and determinism (Nash 2002, 2003, Reay 2004, Bryan 2006, O'Mahoney 2007, Hilgers 2009). That is because individuals "come to make sense of and internalize their social position through the effects of various external structures and ideologies, but these structures only have meaning and an existence in the way that they are reproduced through individuals acting upon their habitus" (Nash 2003:47). Thus, more than solely agency (internal factors as conscious intentions and calculations) or solely structure (micro and macro level social, cultural, or economic factors) both should be seen to exist in "dialectical relationship" with one another (Bryan 2006:54).

Habitus is probably considered Bourdieu's most contested concept (Reay 2004). It has often been criticised for problems of vagueness and indeterminacy, circularity and risks of determinism (Nash 1999, Ball 2003, Reay 2004, Haugaard 2009, Hilgers 2009). However, in the exploration and understanding of the RMC disposition for school choice I have found in the permeability of habitus, in its ability to capture continuity and change, and its interaction between agency and structure, a fruitful perspective for analysis because it seems to capture important class dimensions in parental choice and a strong link with class formation process (these aspects will be discussed in the next section). Besides, this study of parental school choice provides empirical situations through which to investigate these critical aspects for its grounding in empirical reality. As Crompton and Scott (2005) affirm there is a continuing need for this kind of empirical work to develop the conceptual framework. In a more radical position Reay (2004:439) indicates that habitus is a "conceptual tool to be used in empirical research rather than an idea to be debated in texts".

Returning to the relation of the complementarity of rational and culturalist perspectives, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:131) affirm that the theory of habitus does not exclude the strategic choice and the conscious deliberation as possible routes of action: "the lines of action suggested by the habitus may be accompanied by a strategic calculation of cost and benefits, which tends to play in the conscious level the operations that habitus plays in its own way". Even, as Hatcher (1998) states, Bourdieu acknowledges that there are boundaries to the explanatory scope of the concept of habitus: "habitus is one principle of production of practices among others and although it is undoubtedly more frequently in play than any other [...] one cannot rule out that it may be superseded under certain circumstances - certainly in situations of crisis which disrupt the immediate adjustment of habitus to field - by other principles, such as rational and conscious computation" (Bourdieu 1990a:108).

3.2 The centrality of the habitus

The second level of the explanatory scheme is focused on the disposition (habitus) that lie behind particular practices. The theoretical framework is mainly based on Bourdieu's work in understanding how the habitus formation process occurs and its relation with the process of class formation. This relation is crucial to explore how the RMC disposition for the provision of education has been re-structured through generations in correspondence with their process of upward social mobility. Although habitus is used as a central explanatory concept, it is supplemented by its interaction with the two other concepts of the Bourdieu triad - field and cultural capital - for a better recognition of educational choice and class formation.

The interaction of the habitus with 'field' and 'cultural capital'

Bourdieu affirms that the unconscious dispositions of the habitus cannot be understood without simultaneous reference to two other central concepts such as capital and field – or, more specifically their interaction: 'to one's position in the field generated by the intersection of economic and cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In Bourdieu's view, individuals are seen to move and operate within 'fields' or arenas of action "in which particular values, processes and regulative principles 'inform and set limits on practice'" (Adkins 2004:193 in Roberts 2012:73). In turn, capital enables people to take a position that interacts with their habitus within a specific field of social practice.

The notion of field, or the social arena wherein habitus operates, refers to "a configuration of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situations (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) where possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relations to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc)" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 101).

As Devine and Savage (2005:14) argue "people's competence to participate in fields is critically related to their habitus, and their social and historically acquired dispositions. Capitals can only be mobilized in particular fields and by people with appropriate habitus". The close and dialectic relationship that exist between habitus and field is explained by Bourdieu in this way: "given that different habitus are positioned differently within the social microcosm of a field, a strong homology between the two is likely to translate into a good

‘feel for the game’ and an ability to operate like a ‘fish in water’. Conversely, a ‘mismatch’ between habitus and field may result in difficulty as the individual will find s/he is operating in a novel environment” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:128). This lack of fit or congruence between their habitus and field has been probably experienced by RMC when they have changed from the state to the private sphere in the educational field.

In relation to the notion of capital, Bourdieu regards as capital “the set of actually usable resources and powers in all its forms and not only in the one form which is recognized by economic theory” (Bourdieu 1986b: 242) which acquisition enables individuals to gain status and power within society. There are different kinds of capital – economic, social, cultural and symbolic –. While economic capital refers to command over economic resources (cash, goods, assets), cultural capital exist in three different forms. In general this reflects the modes of thinking, values, tastes, dispositions, sets of meaning and qualities of style that are mainly ‘inculcated’ through the family (and the school). Its three forms or states are: the ‘embodied’ form (dispositions of mind and body such as “competence”)⁶⁷; the ‘objectified’ form (that is in form of material objects whose production or consumption presupposes a quantum of embodied cultural capital); and the ‘institutionalized’ form (educational qualifications or credentials). Social capital is “the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:119) from which the individual group member can profit socially as well as economically.

As Swartz (1997) affirms “the study of how and under what conditions social actors employ strategies of capital accumulation, activation, investment, and the conversion of various kind of capital into another in order to sustain or enhance their positions in the social hierarchy is central to Bourdieu’s work (cited by Bryan 2006:58). According to Bourdieu (1986b), all forms of capital are the products of investments and are resources to be exploited. Each form of capital can be converted into another but this transformation can require greater or lesser effort. There are thus, for example, some goods and services that can be obtained thanks to economic capital, immediately and without secondary costs, but there are also others that can only be obtained as a result of a social capital based on relations or obligations which have required investment over the long term in order to be able to make use of them. Likewise, cultural capital can be utilized to acquire social resources such as

⁶⁷ Bourdieu (1986b:244) underscores that its most fundamental feature lies in the fact that “because it is embodied, its acquisition requires an investment of time’.

power and status. The acquisition and accumulation of these various material and immaterial forms of capital gives access to power. For instance, through education cultural capital may be accumulated and its possession may facilitate the reproduction of the metaphorical qualities of status and prestige. Precisely, the seminal works of Bourdieu (1977, 1986) focus on the unequal distribution of social, cultural and economic capital between classes, transmitted over generations.

Returning to the interplay of fields, habitus and capitals, capital enables people to take up a position, which then interacts with their habitus within the field of social practice. Regarding the relevance of this interplay another premise on which this research rests is that private education may play a relevant role through social and cultural capital that may be accumulated and may facilitate the construction of the metaphorical qualities of status and prestige to those who possess it (i.e. symbolic capital and differentiation). As Ball (1997:2) argues “aside from material advantages which might accrue from academic success, there are ‘cultural profits’ to be generated in the form of social cachet, access to privileged social networks and the acquisition of certain cultural competencies (...) Education as a field of distinctions and identities is crucial in changing and reproducing the borderlines of class”. This aspect gains special relevance regarding RMC parental choice in education as a mechanism that tends to ensure their transformation in a context of rapid ascendant social mobility. The practical necessity of consuming what now has become a cultural good, that is, a specific kind of private education, allows the expression of habitus based on preferences or tastes which, in turn, allow for the reproduction of social groups as a whole. Thus, for Bourdieu, taste distinguishes social group membership and distinction. Tastes demonstrate the advantage for the privileged of being able to draw on greater volumes of social, economic and cultural capital, and, as he so often puts it, ‘play the game’ (Conway 1997:1.11).

The habitus formation process

Central to the analysis of RMC habitus is the consideration of how habitus is formed (and transformed). Three central aspects related to the habitus formation process widely deployed in the literature are considered (Nash 1999, Reay 1995, 2004, Weininger 2005, Pickel 2005, O’Mahoney 2007, Hilgers 2009). Firstly, the temporal and dynamic element of the habitus as opposed to its latent and inherited ‘determinism’. This refers to the fact that while being the product of early experience, habitus is subject to the transformations brought about by subsequent experiences (Nash 1999). Secondly, the collective

understanding of habitus which assumes that "this is differentially formed according to each actor's position in social space, and as such, is empirically variable and class specific (in Bourdieu's sense of the term)" (Weininger 2005:91). Finally, the habitus as a 'complex interplay between past and present' (Reay 2004), where dispositions can change through generations strongly influenced by opportunities and constraints that each generation found in their encounters with the outside world (Di Maggio 1979 cited by Reay 2004).

These three aspects are crucial to understanding how the current disposition for private education has been particularly developed in the RMC, taking into account this disposition as a distinctive characteristic of this social sector (class specific but differentiated by class fractions); its transformative trajectory from public to private education (the dynamic element) mainly influenced by its process of ascendant social mobility, regarding the interplay between past and present. As Nash (1999:176) states "habitus enables individual trajectories to be studied, for habitus has a history and discloses the traces of its origins in practice". Then, regarding all these elements of the habitus formation process, the trajectory of the RMC disposition for educational provision is studied. Through the parents' narratives the traces of its origins are identified.

- *The temporal and dynamic element of the habitus*

*"Habitus is durable but not eternal!"
Bourdieu (1992:133)*

The temporal and dynamic element of the habitus is opposed to its attributed latent and inherited 'determinism' (Nash 1999, McNay 1999, Reay 2004, Weininger 2005, O'Mahoney 2007, Roberts 2012). Bourdieu argues that the "habitus is not the fate that people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structure. It is durable but not eternal!" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:133). As O'Mahoney (2007:481-82) argues, "this frames habitus as a dynamic and contingent phenomenon dependent upon both structured subjective experiences and the opportunities presented by any particular field [...] enabling action to be generated from both historical experiences, and the actor's reflexive consideration of future consequences".

In Bourdieu's model, although the habitus accords a disproportionate weight to primary social experiences⁶⁸, the resulting closure is never absolute because the habitus is continually modified by individuals' encounters with the outside world (Di Maggio, 1979). This means that new experiences and circumstances "are not simply filtered through the habitus giving rise to courses of action, they are also internalised and become yet another layer to add to those from earlier socialisations" (Reay 2004:435), in a continuous process of 'restructuring to restructuring' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:134).

According to this perspective, habitus is considered "cumulative and creative. Sediments without ever solidifying, and thereby remain permeable and responsive to its surroundings" (Roberts 2012:72). That is, it is subject to the transformations brought by subsequent experiences (Nash 1999:176). This temporal and dynamic characteristic of the habitus is crucial to understanding the transformation of the RMC disposition for educational provision across generations as a result of different encounters of each RMC generation with the outside world.

- *The collective understanding of habitus (class habitus)*

*"The actor is the individual trace of an entire collective history"
(Bourdieu 1990a:91)*

Another distinctive aspect in the habitus formation process is how it "is differentially formed according to each actor's position in social space; as such, it is empirically variable and class specific (in Bourdieu's sense of the term)" (Weininger 2005:91). According to Bourdieu, experience of the particular class condition that characterizes a given location in social space imprints a particular set of dispositions upon the individual creating 'socialised dispositions' (Nash 2002:277). This postulates "an indirect causal link between positions in social space and practices by means of concept of habitus" (Weininger 2005:90). As Skeggs (2004) explains, "by way of their immersion within particular socio-cultural contexts individuals come to embody a habitus with the marks of social position and social distance – a habitus which is the product of a positioning within the social structure of society" (Skeggs 2004: 46 in Roberts 2012).

Similarly Reay (2004:434) affirms that habitus is a compilation of collective and individual trajectories, "a person's individual history is constitutive of habitus, but so also is the whole

⁶⁸ Bourdieu argues that 'all external stimuli and conditioning experiences are, at every moment, perceived through categories already constructed by prior experiences, it follows that there is 'an inevitable priority of originary experiences and consequently a relative closure of the system of dispositions that constitute habitus'

collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of [...] individuals contain within themselves their past and present position in the social structure 'at all times and in all places, in the forms of dispositions which are so many marks of social position' (Bourdieu 1990b:82)⁶⁹. However, Reay also warns that join with this degree of uniformity, at other times, Bourdieu recognizes differences and diversity between members of the same cultural grouping alluding to the singularity of individual habitus. The consideration of the collective understanding of the habitus is useful to analyze the degree of uniformity and also of differentiation between the RMC fractions under study.

- *The habitus as a complex interplay between past and present*

In the continuous re-structuring process of habitus, even if it reflects "the social position in which it was constructed, it also carries within the genesis of new creative responses which are capable of transcending the social conditions in which it was produced" (Reay 2004:435). In this perspective Reay suggests a continuum where the range of possibilities inscribed in a habitus can be envisaged: "At one end, habitus can be replicated through encountering a field that reproduces its dispositions. At the other end of the continuum, habitus can be transformed through a process that either raises or lowers an individual's expectations. Implicit in the concept is the possibility of a social trajectory that enables conditions of living that are very different from initial ones" (Reay 2004:435). Thus habitus depends on social trajectories and is strongly influenced by opportunities and constraints found by each generation.

This last aspect is especially relevant for the analysis of the habitus formation process regarding educational provision in the Peruvian RMC because it is inscribed within a process of social transformation through its ascendant social mobility, where the initial living conditions were very different from the current ones, which has led to a transformative habitus formation process. I argue that in contrast to the upper middle and upper classes, where continuity as a practice that sustains the past is expressed in the selection of the same schools from one generation to the next, enabling them to maintain the family status achieved (Tiramonti and Ziegler 2008); in the case of these rising middle class families it is more the break with the family tradition of state schooling (which parents and grandparents went through) and the new option of private education that appears as a reconversion strategy to maintain class stability or provide the chance of some upward mobility. The

⁶⁹ In fact, as Reay 2004 points out, it is in Bourdieu's own study of *Distinction* in French society which is the largest and most comprehensive research study of class habitus

consideration of this transformative aspect is relevant because Bourdieu's theory is better known for its attempts to explain reproduction than transformation, and this study of the habitus formation process in Peruvian RMC fractions is a history of transformation.

3.3 The influence of the broader context in the construction of habitus

The structural level in the Bourdieuan analytical model aims to demonstrate how social structures generate particular dispositions that, in turn, lead to the adoption of a practice by an agent. As Nash (2002:276) argues in relation to the influence of the structure, "the experience of a certain social group produces a culture which disposes those brought up in that culture to develop characteristic preferences". Here the concept of social embodiment is central. As Reay (2004:432) refers "Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus to demonstrate not only the way in which the body is in the social world, but also the ways in which the social world is in the body". The crucial point is how social structures are incorporated or internalised. This is a matter of interest and wider concern with respect to Bourdieu's theory⁷⁰ (Nash 2002, 2003, Reay 2004).

In the case of this study, it is necessary to demonstrate how the social and economic structures within which this sector emerges and gives rise to their characteristic dispositions, specifically in relation to the provision of educational services. For that, the rise of the new middle class needs to be understood in a historical context vis-à-vis the role and position of the state, citizens and market where the weakness and exclusionary nature of the Peruvian state is broadly recognized (Matos Mar 1984, Lopez 1997, Filgueira 2005, Thorp & Paredes 2011, Balarin, 2011). Likewise, the political economy of neo-liberalism is stressed with its emphasis on markets and its encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains, which has prevailed in Peru during the last two decades and which has, arguably, reinforced the tradition of a lack of resources in education, the individualisation of responsibility for education and the abolition of the state's welfare obligations (Torres 2002, Ball et al. 2003, Olssen 2006, Arnove et al. 2007).

Governmentality

Foucault's concept of governmentality refers to "the structures of power by which conduct is organised, and by which governance is aligned with the self-organising capacities of

⁷⁰ The circularity attributed to this 'dispositional' theory has always been its weakness (Nash 2002)

individual subjects. It deals with particular models of governing individuals⁷¹” (Olssen 2006: 214). This includes “the array of knowledge and techniques that are concerned with the systematic and pragmatic guidance and regulation of everyday conduct. As Foucault puts it, governmentality covers a range of practices that constitute, define, organize and instrumentalize the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other” (Ong 2006:4). In this way, as Foucault argues governmentality allows for an understanding of the nature of governmental rationalities (its logic, rights and ethics) linked to specific technologies that cover a range of practices (Foucault in: Ong 2006). Another central aspect to consider is that, according to Olssen *et al.* (2004), the prevalence of a specific form of socio-political organization – for instance, the Neo Liberal state – is linked to the establishment of a concomitant discourse that gives rise to a new, dominant, common sense through which agents interpret, live in, and understand the world. Then, the examination of this common sense allows a better comprehension of how the social world is internalized in the subjects.

I find Foucault’s notion of governmentality particularly fruitful and appropriate as a potential route for structuring subjectivities. Firstly, because it considers the dynamic influence of both the domain of governing and the domain of citizenship in the construction of subjectivities. As Brown (2003:1) points out, the interesting point with respect to the notion of governmentality is that it considers a mode of governance “encompassing but not limited to the state, and one which produces subjects, forms of citizenship and behaviour, and a new organization of the social”. That is, it emphasises the idea of understanding the nature of governmental rationality operating in a dialectical manner in both the domain of governing and of citizenship exerting an influence on the other. This approach results crucial as an attempt to understand how the relationship between an absent Peruvian state and a self-enterprising RMC sector “co-determine each other’s emergence” (Lemke 2007: 191).

Secondly, as Lemke (2001:191) suggests, in governmentality Foucault uses the concept of government “in a comprehensive sense geared strongly to the older meaning and adumbrating the close link between forms of power and processes of subjectification”⁷².

⁷¹ Foucault developed this concept of power in the late 1970s “in order to provide more of a macro dimension to enable him to theorise models of power which dealt with collective governance (...) that is, his analysis represents a shift toward the collective dimensions of governmental power as manifested by such agencies as the modern state” (Foucault 1991 cited by Olssen 2006:214)

⁷² Foucault’s wider notion of government encompasses not only a political meaning, the control/management by the state or the administration but also means addressing problems of self-control, guidance for the family and for children, directing the soul [...] For this reason, Foucault defines government as conduct, or more

Precisely this close link is relevant to understanding how individual and collective dispositions are internalized. “Governmentality has dual functions as *individualizing* and *totalizing*, in shaping both individuals and populations, in order to understand the collective exercise of power. If ‘bio-power’ referred to disciplinary power introduced in the early modern period in order to rationalize the problems afflicting populations, governmentality pertains to the specificity of power relations with its concern to shape conduct as part of a broader issue involving the political exercise of power. It includes ‘techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour’” (Foucault 1997:81).

Neo-liberal Governmentality

Foucault’s analysis of neoliberal governmentality has kindled interest in it as a tool for the critical analysis of governmental rationalities in contemporary societies (Lemke 2001). That is because, as Read (2009:26) affirms, “the nexus between the production of subjectivity and a particular political ideology is at the centre of Michael Foucault’s research”. In his ‘genealogy of the state’ Foucault traces the path of governmental rationalities from the early Christian pastoral guidance through to the notion of state reason (sovereignty), with a focus on the study of contemporary liberal and neo-liberal forms of government (Foucault 1997). While in population subject to sovereignty politics privilege the police or discipline of the population, in population subject to governmentality politics privilege its ‘improvement’ and constitution as self-regulate free subjects (Ong 2006). His analysis of neo-liberalism as a political rationality is not only or even primarily focused on a manner of governing states or economies; rather it involves extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action as a particular manner of living. This broad view is interesting in order to analyse a sector such as the Peruvian RMC which has strongly incorporated a ‘self-care’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ citizen discourse.

The chief theoretical and methodological principles of neo-liberal governmentality have been widely debated (Dean 1999, Lemke 2001, 2007, Brown 2003, Olssen et al. 2004, Olssen 2006, Ong 2006), and it is necessary to take them into account to understand the construction of subjectivities among the Peruvian RMC. These are the following:

- The prevalence of an economic and market rationality in all dimensions of human life where people are made *homo economicus* subjects (Lemke 2001, Brown 2003, Read 2009). As Brown (2003:4) states “this entails submitting every action and

precisely, as “the conduct of the conduct” and thus as a term which ranges from “governing the self” to “governing others” (Foucault 2000:340-342 cited by Lemke 2007:192)

policy to considerations of profitability, and equally important is the production of all human and institutional action as rational entrepreneurial action". Implicit (and explicit) in this is "the celebration of, and assumed superiority of, market mechanisms to ensure economic prosperity, the maximization of individual freedom and its provision of a base for all social interactions" (Olssen et al. 2004:137).

- One of the main changes in the techniques of government under neoliberalism is a shift from a state that actively exerts control, to one that partly yields that responsibility to the citizens themselves (Lemke 2001, Ong 2006). Then, it is not only the retreat of the state but also the emergence of citizens who through the acquisition of a specific set of values, develop a 'governmentality' that allows them to assume responsible self-management as well as entrepreneurial attitudes (Olssen et al. 2004). As Fischman et al. (2003) affirm "the state is withdrawing from intervention from its traditional sphere as guarantor of equal opportunities and provisions, and citizens are assuming directly this provision". In this context, as Olssen et al. (2004) argue "the state will see to it that each one of us makes a continuous 'enterprise of ourselves' (Gordon 1991:44) in what seems to be a process of 'govern(ing) without governing' (Rose 1993:298)".
- The expansion of economic rationality also extends to individual conduct prescribing citizen-subjects to conduct themselves in a neoliberal order as entrepreneurial citizens. That is, neo-liberalism normatively constructs and calls on individuals to give their lives 'a specific entrepreneurial form in every sphere of life' (Lemke 2001:201). According to this, subjects become wholly responsible for their well-being and their moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for "self-care"⁷³. As Lemke (2001:201) explains, the strategy of rendering individual subjects "responsible" entails shifting the responsibility for social risks such as illness, unemployment, etc. and for life in society into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of "self-care"⁷⁴. Foucault summarizes this point of view as "homo economicus is an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself".
- As Brown (2003:4) argues "neo-liberalism involves a normative rather than ontological claim about the pervasiveness of economic rationality". Neither the

⁷³That is, the ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions.

⁷⁴ As Brown (2003: 6) remarks, in so doing, "the individual bears full responsibility for the consequences of his or her action no matter how severe the constraints on this action, e.g., lack of skills, education in a period of high unemployment and limited welfare benefits"

market itself nor rational economic behaviour are considered as purely natural. Both are constructed, organized by law and political institutions, and have to be actively fostered through political intervention and orchestration (Brown 2003). Following this perspective Binkley (2009:68) affirms “the task is to devise a state capable of creating, through its own programs and initiatives, the voluntaristic, entrepreneurial and self-responsible dispositions, upon which market forms depend”.

- As a consequence of all this, “a “mismanaged life” becomes a new way of depoliticizing social and economic powers and at the same time reduces political citizenship to an unprecedented degree of passivity and political complacency [...] A fully realized neo-liberal citizenry would be the opposite of public-minded; indeed it would barely exist as a public” (Brown 2003:6). The neoliberal subject is not a citizen with claims on the state but a self-enterprising citizen who is obligated to become ‘an entrepreneur of himself or herself’. Thus, citizenship is reduced to success in this entrepreneurship (Lemke 2001).

Neo-liberal Governmentality in emergent countries

Drinot (2011:184) affirms that although Foucault’s genealogy of governmentality suggests a teleological process, “in fact sovereignty and governmentality are better thought of as commensurable forms of power that coexist in modern societies rather than successive ‘stages’”⁷⁵. Foucault’s concept of governmentality has been broadly used as a tool for a critical analysis of neoliberalism mainly in liberal societies and western democracies mostly neglecting non-western as well as non-liberal contexts⁷⁶ (Lemke 2000, 2001, Brown 2003, Olssen 2006, Pykett 2010). However, following David Scott (1995) and Mitchell Dean (1999), Drinot argues that in practice “governmentality is eminently transposable to (as an

⁷⁵ In relation to this genealogy, on the one hand, Foucault (1991:102) suggests the coexistence of different forms of power when affirms “we need to see things not in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a society of government”. But, on the other hand, he also considers the pre-eminence of governmentality over all other forms when sustains “the tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting , on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs” (Foucault 1991:103)

⁷⁶ As Lemke (2001:192) affirms “the concept of governmentality has inspired many studies in the social sciences and historical research (...) scholars have sought to refine and extend Foucault’s work as a tool for the critical analysis of political technologies and governmental rationalities in contemporary societies”

analytics), and evident in (as a form of power) colonial and authoritarian societies” (Drinot 2011:184). This has been demonstrated in studies carried out by Ong (2006) and Fimyar (2008) in emergent Asian countries as forms of “fragmented” or “graduated” sovereignty (Ong 2000).

In her study of Neoliberalism as exception, Ong (2006:1) argues that Asian governments “have selectively adopted neoliberal forms in creating economic zones and imposing market criteria on citizenship”. This has implied projects of rule that “have focused not on the management of the population as a whole but rather on the micro-managements of sectors of population in ways that express racialized understandings of the ontological capacity of different population groups to contribute to, and indeed be subjects of, projects of “improvement” and national “progress” more generally” (Drinot 2011:193). Similarly to the cases analyzed by Ong, different governments have selectively adopted neo-liberal forms⁷⁷ and have commanded differential ways of treating the population in Peru since the nineties. As Drinot (2011) argues, recent governments ruled by privileging sovereignty over governmentality. That is, a politics that privileges the policing or disciplining of the population over its ‘improvement’ and constitution as self-regulating free subjects in the sense that while governmental power is deployed among a minority of the population, sovereign power is used to discipline a majority through regulatory regimes. Using a clear metaphor he states “Peru, today and in the past, is best characterized by the presence of islands of governmentality in a sea of sovereignty” (Drinot 2011: 193).

Drinot’s study is focused on indigenous populations and reveals how the differential treatments of populations in Peru are expressing a racialized and political understanding of the ontological capacity of population groups to contribute to national progress. As Drinot argues “the deployment of sovereign power over these populations reflects more than a strategy to manage their recalcitrance. It expresses the belief that these populations are in fact not amenable to governmentalization by virtue of who they are⁷⁸” (P.194). I argue that, to the contrary, the RMC has been considered as a population amenable to governmentalization. This is mainly because the Peruvian RMC has emerged and consolidated itself with a strong acceptance of market rationality after the recurrent experience of failure and absence of the state, and ‘naturally’ assuming the sense of ‘self-care’ and the entrepreneurial form in different spheres of life.

⁷⁷ The adoption of neo-liberal forms in no way constitutes a neo-liberal state as occurs in liberal societies and western democracies

⁷⁸ Drinot suggests that the idea that the indigenous represent an obstacle to Peru “has deep historical roots and is key to the myriad racialized inequalities and exclusions that characterize Peruvian society” (P.194)

However, it is necessary to consider the different context and conditions of emergence of this kind of neoliberal subject. While in Western democracies this mainly emerges from “the shift from the Keynesian welfare state toward so-called free market policies and the rise of neoliberal political projects” (Lemke 2007:192) through which individuals are induced to self-manage according to the market principles; in the Peruvian case, as Garcia (2006) argues, this emergence is rather a pragmatic response to an extreme social and economic situation characterized by the contraction of the labor market, the low rate of tax collection and poverty; that is, it responds to a logic of necessity where individuals cultivate an entrepreneurial disposition within their own modes of conduct. These differences will be taken into account in the analysis.

How forms of subjectivity are produced?

As Lemke (2007:197) argues, “how” forms of subjectivity are produced, is critical to a plurality of governmental technologies. Foucault addresses different forms of technologies in his work related to the “array of knowledge and techniques that are concerned with the systematic and pragmatic guidance and regulation of everyday conduct” (Foucault 1991:101). In his early works⁷⁹ Foucault analyses technologies seeking to discipline the individual body or to regulate population processes, and in his later work he was also sensitive to the workings of “technologies of the self” or forms of self-regulation in the context of neo-liberal governmentality (Lemke 2001, 2007, Olssen 2006). Also Rose (1992:175) refers to these governmental technologies as “the complex of mundane programmes, calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions”.

However, as Binkley (2009:60) argues, “much theoretical and empirical work in this area is prone to a “top-down” approach, in which governmentality is reduced to an imposing apparatus through which subjectivities are produced, it argues instead for the need to understand self-production of subjectivities by considering the ethical practices that make up neoliberal governmentality”. The “top-down” approach results contradictory with the idea stressed at the beginning of this section about the dynamic influence of both the domain of governing and of citizenship in the construction of subjectivities. As Binkley (2009:62) explains “in much recent work on governmentality, the emphasis has fallen on the institutional logics, the assemblages, technologies and dispositifs, as Foucault called them, through which the rationalities of neoliberal governmentality invest populations, while less

⁷⁹ In *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and in *The History of Sexuality*, vol I (1979)

emphasis has been placed on the practical, ethical work⁸⁰ individuals perform on themselves in their effort to become more agentive, decisionistic, voluntaristic and vital market agents (...) that is, the dynamic practices by which neoliberal governmentality is incorporated". Given the centrality of this kind of practices to understand the formation of Peruvian RMC as self-enterprising citizens the Binkley perspective is included in the analysis.

⁸⁰ As Binkley (2009:62) suggests "these practices are ethical in the sense that Foucault used the term in his later work: they involve daily work performed upon specific objects or features of the self-held to be problematic"

PART THREE

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aim of this chapter is to present a discussion of the methodological considerations associated with this study in relation to the broader – but in the case of Peru almost unexplored – landscape of educational research related to social class, taking the formation of habitus as a central explanatory approach for Peruvian RMC school choice. It thereby begins with an epistemological discussion which maps out the assumptions regarding the nature of the social world underpinning the study. Then, given the centrality of habitus a discussion of the main considerations for a methodological approach to it is included. The next section presents the research strategy. The specific aims and purposes of the research are introduced and with these aims and purposes in mind, it sets out the way in which they might best be explored. In this respect, qualitative approaches regarding an intergenerational view (that include grandparents, parents and children) and a comparative perspective (between consolidated and precarious RMC fractions) are identified as key to exploring the school choice process, the predominance of the habitus as well as the habitus formation process in both groups of RMC. Different stages and criteria for sampling are included as well as a description of both RMC samples in order to contextualise the study.

Discussion groups were considered an appropriate way in which to explore the diversity of opinions, positions, expectations and beliefs among RMC parents in relation to private and state education as well as the process involved in their school choice and the nature of their arguments. In addition to this, in-depth interviews provide a suitable way to explore the RMC habitus formation process regarding the influence of both the rapid process of upward social mobility that characterizes this social group as well as the prevalence of the broader context of political and economic neoliberalism. The main considerations for the application of both processes of collecting data are described, including access and ethical issues with the respondents. The next section consists of a discussion of the analytical strategy employed to examine and interpret the data regarding the multilevel explanatory scheme used in this research. The final section concludes with notes on the validity and reliability of the proposed interpretations.

4.1 Epistemological standpoint

This research is situated within the general framework of realist sociology taking as a starting point the Bourdieurian explanatory scheme where a full explanation of social events requires an account of social structures, socialized dispositions (*habitus*), and actions within generated practices (Nash 2002). As Scott (2010:79) explains this approach to knowledge includes three core elements in critical realism: “the first of these is that the empirical world cannot constitute the totality of the social world; the second is that the domain of the real is more extensive than the domain of the actual; and third is that the social world is stratified, consists of mechanisms at different levels and elements of these mechanism cannot be reduced to those of the level from which they have emerged”. The emphasis on several levels of ‘reality’ is an attempt to avoid reductionist explanations understood as “the practice of explaining the behaviour of concrete objects (that is, many-sided) by reducing them wholly to (or reading them off from) just one of their abstracts (that is, one-sided) constituents” (Sayer 2000:89). This reductionist explanation may in itself misrepresent social life that it wishes to explain because, as Scott (2005:39) explains, “the categorization involved has real effects because individuals understand themselves and behave in accord with the original reductionist explanation”⁸¹. Following the multilevel explanatory scheme, I have attempted to create an underlying model of key aspects of *habitus* formation process, social class mobility and neo-liberal discourses that can be expected to generate effects or what Bhaskar (1978) describes as tendencies, in this case in the specific field of educational choice, and for a particular social group, the Peruvian RMC.

As Lauder et al. (2012) affirm, critical realists are fundamentally concerned with constructing models of generative mechanism where causality is inferred by *abductive reasoning* from data patterns to an underlying causal model or mechanism. For the understanding of abductive reasoning it is relevant to consider the emphasis of Bhaskar (1978) on the significance of tendencies over predictions. While predictions may be possible under closed laboratory conditions (and are much more difficult to identify in open systems such as the systems under study), tendencies can be formed as conditional statements of what may happen, raising the question of the generative mechanisms which produce the tendencies, thus constituting an explanatory model. As Lauder et al. (2012:49) argue “these conditional statements arise because the actual and the empirical may reflect the effects of a range of generative mechanisms which can often only be understood and indeed explained in

⁸¹ However, Scott also argues that it is important not to assume that it will change the reality because “the relationship between the cultural and the structural is dependent on a range of factors, such as the means of dissemination of ideas in society, and the privileged or otherwise status of these ideas” (Scott 2005: 39)

retrospect". In order to develop the explanatory power of the model it is necessary to see where the data are consistent and where they challenge the model. In the latter event, "if the anomalies are sufficiently intractable then no amount of change within the model may deal with them. In this case, the model would have to be abandoned" (Lauder et al. 2012:49).

In this study, the initial research proposal mainly considered an explanation for the increasing option for private education in the Peruvian RMC the influence of rational and culturalist criteria in the process of choice. Although this was appropriate to understand the individual assumption of responsibility for the provision of educational services, it was not sufficient. Practical reality presented complexities that the model, such as it was at the time, was unable to incorporate. It was not a case of abandoning the model that had been constructed but of developing it. Two more conditional statements then emerged. One was how the dispositions for the provision of education have been continually re-structured across the RMC generations in correspondence with their process of class formation and upward social mobility. The other was the influence of the broader context of neo-liberalism through the incorporation of a dominant common sense in this social group in relation to the withdrawing of state intervention as guarantor of services provision such as education, and citizens directly assuming this provision as self-enterprising citizens. The inclusion of these two conditional statements allowed the explanatory power of the model to be developed.

In the construction of this underlying model another aspect in the tradition of critical realism is assumed: the fallibilistic conception of knowledge. As Scott (2005:635) argues "the assumption that independent reality exists does not entail the assumption that absolute knowledge of the way it works is possible". The nature of the social world is always fallible⁸² and, as the same author explains, critical realism is precisely critical because "any attempts at describing and explaining the world are bound to be fallible, and also because these ways of ordering the world, its categorizations and the relationship between them, cannot be justified in any absolute sense, and are always open to critique and their replacement by a different set of categories and relationships" (Scott 2005:636). In this perspective, what is considered to be at any moment in time the most appropriate way of describing the world can change because new ways of describing the social world are always operating and replacing old ones. A relevant aspect that needs to be stressed in this view is that "not all forms of knowledge are equally possible" (Sayer 1992:68) as truth statements can be

⁸² Fallibility goes beyond the notion of error and refers both "to the fact that researchers may not for practical and ethical reasons be able to collect data about the causal sequence that concerns them, and also the way they are positioned whether this is geographical, cultural or epistemological. As a result, fallibility cannot just be equated with inadequacy or insufficiency, but also implies that no epistemic certainty can be guaranteed" (Scott 2010:80)

evaluated on the basis of such criteria as coherence, intersubjective understanding and, more strongly, their practical adequacy. As Sayer (1992) argues, competing knowledge claims can be judged on the basis of their explanatory power and whether they create expectations that are realized in practical experience. All these philosophical concerns needed to be thought through prior to making decisions about strategies, methods and specific considerations which are presented below.

4.2 Methodological work with habitus

Habitus is central in the explanatory model of this study because of its 'hinge' property "to effect the mediation between structural principles and cultural practice within and across specific fields" (Nash 2003:45). However, as already discussed in the previous theoretical chapter, the work with habitus is particularly challenging and this also extends to methodological domains. As a generative mechanism which operates at an unconscious level, it is difficult to work with because it cannot be directly observed in empirical research (Reay 2004). This section is dedicated to developing methodological considerations that have guided and challenged my approach to habitus in this study in order "to make it at least partially explicit" (Sweetman 2009:494).

The methodological approach seeks to respond and address critical aspects related to both the conceptualization of habitus as well as of its formation process (both developed in the previous chapter). It (the methodological approach) also makes use of the contributions of different empirical studies dedicated to habitus in different fields (Bourdieu 1986a, Reay 1995, 1997, 2002, Rapoport and Lomsky-Feder 2002, Pickel 2005, O'Mahoney 2007, Sweetman 2009, Harris and Wise 2012, Lehmann 2014). Reading these studies has been enormously helpful to guide and specify my own habitus exploration in this study. However, while the majority of studies has been focused on the analysis of habitus at any particular point in time – at any 'conjecture' – only a few of them have worked with a dynamic understanding of habitus through the exploration of its process of formation in a generation (Rapoport and Lomsky-Feder 2002). This research is an attempt to understand habitus formation across generations and using a comparative perspective between two RMC fractions in order to examine the influence of the different social contexts in the formation of the habitus. It is precisely this dynamic approach to habitus that is one of the biggest challenges of this study and, I believe, one of its main contributions.

The starting point: actions and practices as expressions of habitus

Habitus takes a variety of different forms from simple automatic behaviors (e.g. facial expression) to generalized and complex forms of interacting with others in particular settings (e.g. domestic behavior, political behavior) (Pickel 2005). Weininger (2005:86) postulates a relation of “expression” between habitus and “a variety of practices situated in different domains of consumption – practices which cohere symbolically to form a whole, a kind of “lifestyle””. In a similar vein Hilgers (2009:729) points out that “the notion of habitus always evokes a disposition that is difficult to transform, a finality without consciousness, perceptible and comprehensible only by its manifestation as phenomenon, that is, by action in the world”. It is also an argument for Realism since it admits non observable and difficult to observe entities. Regarding all this, the exploration of habitus has been based on the account of experiences in relation to central issues in the research – school choice, schooling experiences, experiences of the state in the provision of services – where different actions and practices have appeared as ‘expression’ of habitus. Once they had been identified, these actions and practices needed to be interpreted in order to infer the habitus that underlines them.

Habitus apprehended interpretively

According to Weininger (2005:93), “because habitus as a system of dispositional “schemes” cannot be directly observed, it must be apprehended interpretively”. The author points out that much of *Distinction* – the largest and most comprehensive research study of class habitus carried out by Bourdieu⁸³ – “is devoted to a qualitative study of the various preferences and practices which cluster in each sector of social space (i.e. within each class and class fraction) in order to identify the specific habitus that underlines them” (Weininger 2005:93)⁸⁴. Bourdieu uses habitus as a method for uncovering actors’ relationships to the dominant culture and the ways in which these relationships are expressed in a range of activities, including eating, speaking and gesturing (Bourdieu 1986a). In the context of this study, from the different actions, practices, preferences and beliefs expressed in the parents’ accounts the emergence of a lifestyle around what Bourdieu calls ‘the sense of distinction’ is analyzed and specific habitus is inferred.

⁸³ This is in Reay’s view.

⁸⁴ Weininger (2005:95) argues that “Bourdieu is able to provide a compendium of data establishing both that an isomorphism obtains between the structure of social space and the distribution of consumption practices, and that this correspondence is mediated by a subjective system of dispositions whose “expression” across multiple domains of consumption confers a semantic unity on the practices that warrants reference to coherent “lifestyles”

The crucial importance of the context

Reay – one of the researchers that theoretically and empirically has most worked and reflected on habitus⁸⁵ – suggests that “the aspects of habitus that remain relatively unfilled⁸⁶ simultaneously contain its utility and its pitfalls; (...) and proposes that the notion of habitus “is less problematic and more fluidly if it is viewed as both method and theory”” (Reay 2004:439). Habitus provides a method for simultaneously analyzing ‘the experience of social agents and ... the objective structures which make this experience possible’ (Bourdieu 1988:782 cited by Reay 2004). According to the author this demands a complex analysis which both recognizes diversity within social groupings and highlights the crucial importance of the context in which actions take place. Scott (2010:79) expresses this in terms of an attempt at reconciliation in agency-structure relations when he argues that “complete explanations of social events and processes cannot be reduced to the intentions and beliefs of agents without reference to structural forms, or to structural properties without reference to the intentions and beliefs of agents”.

At the methodological level this entails serious implications since, as Scott (2010:86) affirms, “structures cannot be known directly, but only through examination of how they impact on agency”. The important point is that, as the author suggests, the researcher “has to try and collect data about the process, involving a chain of reasoning leading to a series of actions leading to an understanding of events, and this can only be achieved by a detailed analysis of how individuals give meanings to the various part of the process. Structural properties cannot be identified separately from individual dispositions and practices” (Scott 2010:88).

Following these assumptions the exploration of the habitus in this study has also included accounts of the opportunities and constraints that each generation and also each RMC’s fraction found in their encounters with the outside world. This has allowed an approach to salient characteristics of the socio-cultural context to which each generation and each RMC fraction was continuously exposed, and to which their habitus were permeable and responsive. In this way, the exploration made it possible to develop a causal narrative where parents made sense of how the relevant aspects of the context had influenced the adoption of specific dispositions and practices. Additionally, when analyzing the complexities of RMC parents’ accounts I aimed to discern orientations to the social world in relation to school experience, social mobility and experiences of the state which were not necessarily explicitly articulated, drawing in turn upon ideas developed in earlier chapters

⁸⁵ Many of Reay’s studies on habitus work with it as a method in different domains and related to the notions of social class and inequality (see Reay 1995, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2004)

⁸⁶ That Jenkins described as ‘the ontological mysteries of the habitus’

(see the background and theoretical chapters) in order to achieve a complete idea of the habitus formation process.

Habitus Awareness during the habitus formation process

One of the most difficult issues for the approach to habitus is the lack of conscious awareness of it (McNay 1999, Nash 2003, Reay 2004, Weininger 2005). In relation to this, an important consideration for the exploration of the habitus formation process is that the possibilities of changes in habitus during this process would enable the subject to become aware of and reflect on his/her dispositions. According to Reay (2004), following Bourdieu's ideas "habitus operates at an unconscious level unless individuals confront events that cause self-questioning, whereupon habitus begins to operate at the level of consciousness and the person develops new facets of the self. Such disjuncture between habitus and field occurs for Bourdieu when individuals with a well-developed habitus find themselves in different fields or different parts of the same social field". This kind of self-consciousness is precisely what happens with the Peruvian RMC in the educational field when they move from attending basic education to attending higher education, or when they move from the public to the private sphere between generations. This change would potentially produce greater conscious awareness because as Sweetman (2009:495) affirms, "one is unsure what to do and how to behave, and no longer has a clear 'feel of the game' (Bourdieu 1990b:11)".

Sayer (2005) extends the spectrum of this disjuncture that leads to the awareness of habitus arguing that it can occur during the *formation of habitus*, and indeed can be constitutive of the habitus⁸⁷. This has important implications because it "provides the potential for a broader conceptualization of habitus that makes space for 'cares, concerns and commitments' and weaves together conscious deliberation with unconscious dispositions" (Reay 2004:437-438). Following this consideration, the exploration of the habitus formation process in RMC took, especially, into account the changes between generations, the basis for these changes and the conscious awareness of events that caused self-questioning, especially among the generation of the parents who were directly interviewed. All this was considered in both processes the collecting as well as the analysis of the data.

⁸⁷ Although the emphasis on "propension the 'feel of the game' rather than calculation and strategizing is an important counter to rationalism, Bourdieu seems to leap straight from a rationalist interpretation to an anti-rationalist one (...) However, later work, and especially *State Nobility* (Bourdieu 1998) includes a recognition of cognitive aspects of habitus not present in earlier work such as *Distinction*" (Reay 2004:438)

Reflections on Habitus through the discourse

In the context of this study, the approach to habitus has been through parental discourse collected in discussion groups and in-depth interviews (both methods will be presented later on). As Haugaard (2008:193) affirms “the capacity to put our habitus into *discursive rules* is highly significant sociologically as it is the source of human reflexivity. Actors can distance themselves from their habitus by making it discursive. In this process, they become ‘strangers’ to themselves. The capacity for reflexive description contains within it the possibility for the redescription of reality as something else. Habitus is a gestalt ordering of the external world, which can be consciously changed through being made discursive”. This was continuously experienced through the interviews with the parents where reflexive self-awareness has emerged “as a consequence of the research process rather than being something that is immediately accessible as a matter of course” (Sweetman 2009:495). The opportunity to talk about their experiences and trajectories not only provided a way to reconstruct events but also to step back and be able to recognise, while talking about them, how certain events had marked their lives and led to the adoption of certain dispositions. This was clearly expressed through parents’ expressions such as “Now I realize that” or “Yeah, I recognize that”.

4.3 Research design

Research aims and research questions

The methodology used in this study has sought to develop a rich, qualitative understanding of the processes of educational choice for school education in a group of Peruvian RMC families who have chosen private education, and how and why their disposition (habitus) to assume individual responsibility for the provision of their children’s education has emerged, drawing on discursive approaches. The overarching questions that this study addresses are:

- What view does the new rising middle class which has chosen private education have of state and private education?
- How has class habitus for individual responsibility for the provision of education been formed?
- Finally, why has greater pressure not been placed on the state for high quality education by this emerging class?

I explore the major research questions by considering a number of related sub-questions, as follows: (1) To what extent does educational choice among this group of Peruvian RMC parents involve rationalist criteria as well as the development of specific dispositions? (2) What relation is there between the option for private education and their process of class consolidation (through their upward social mobility)? (3) To what extent does their disposition to assume individual responsibility for education provision also respond to the appropriation of a dominant neoliberal discourse where citizens are entrepreneurs of themselves for the provision of social services?

Research Aims:

- To explore the rising middle class discourse among those who chose private education concerning state and private education and how this discourse has emerged;
- To explore a dynamic approach to habitus regarding the effect of upward social mobility to explain how habitus is constructed;
- To explore the potential of the Foucauldian approach to structuring subjectivities to explain the effect of the prevalence of neo-liberal discourse in how habitus is constructed;

Intergenerational view and comparative perspective

The research approach to the habitus formation process is based on an intergenerational view which includes the educational trajectories and experiences of RMC grandparents, parents and children. This offers a unique opportunity for a dynamic study of the process of structuring and re-structuring of habitus that shows relative malleability throughout the trajectory of an agent, in this case the Peruvian RMC strongly influenced by their process of upward social mobility⁸⁸. The study also uses a contrast regarding two extremes of the rising group: the consolidated and the precarious fractions. I consider this provides a relevant insight since "the individuals come to embody a habitus with the marks of social position and social distance" (Skeggs 2004:46). The marks are different between these two RMC fractions and it is expected that these influence their habitus formation process. Additionally, this approach is helpful within an exploratory phase in a field where there are

⁸⁸ At this point I have to mention that the approach to the experiences and practices in each RMC generation have been made through the parents' narratives. Only parents were directly interviewed but not grandparents and children. Later on I discuss the reliability of these narratives. This was for practical reasons since many grandparents have died or it was very difficult to access them, and children between 6 and 9 years old were too young for the interviews

almost no studies that provide an understanding of the phenomenon of the shift from state to private schools. As Patton 2002 (cited by Flick 2006:130) argues this provides the opportunity to “disclose the field under study from its extremities to arrive at an understanding of the field as a whole”. Thus, the study aims to investigate the possibility of similarities and differences between RMC fractions in their current processes of educational choice and in how the disposition for private education has emerged.

A note on ‘class’

At the core of this research is the analysis of school choice and the habitus formation process through making a comparative approach between two fractions of Peruvian rising middle class: the consolidated group and the precarious one⁸⁹. As it was already mentioned, the definition and segmentation of the Peruvian rising middle class is a matter of strong debate with diffuse boundaries. So, how could I ascertain the class fraction of the sample of families? This has necessitated a simplification of the complexities of class by classifying families using a number of indicators. For the condition of emergence that characterizes both fractions common indicators of migrant origins (grandparents’ place of birth) and upward mobility (variations in educational achievement and levels of education obtained by the generations) were used. To differentiate both fractions a set of indicators related to parents’ occupation and educational qualifications, family income and belonging to certain socio-economic classes (C and D respectively) were employed⁹⁰. On the basis of these two samples of RMC families, a consolidated and a precarious group were identified⁹¹.

A strong assumption of this study is a collective understanding of habitus. As was previously discussed in the theoretical chapter individuals hold within themselves their past and present position in the social structure, and as Skeggs (2004:46) explains “by way of their immersion within particular socio-cultural contexts individuals come to embody a habitus with the marks of social position and social distance – a habitus which is the product of a positioning within the social structure of the society”. Although according to this, a degree of uniformity in the habitus formation processes of families from each RMC fraction would be expected, the exploration has sought to unpack the particular trajectory in which each family has formed their habitus by examining the patterns they express but also recognizing differences and

⁸⁹ The term precarious means that even though they have risen out of poverty in their ascendant trajectory, they continue being vulnerable as they could slip back into poverty.

⁹⁰ I have taken as reference the current categorization by socio-economic class used in Peru where letter A represents the highest level and letter E the lowest. There is relative consensus that letter C corresponds to the consolidated RMC and letter D to the precarious fraction (APEIM 2013)

⁹¹ A comparative analysis of the trajectories of both fractions is included in the Chapter six (see 6.1 Educational Trajectories in the RMC’s sample: A General View of Upward Mobility)

diversity between members of the same cultural grouping alluding to the singularity of individual habitus.

Sampling:

A selection of samplings was made according to different stages of the data collection process (see table 3). Sampling decisions were based on material that promised the greatest insights and that seemed to be most instructive for analysis. First, two schools were selected, one from the two areas that are the focus of this study: A school in a consolidated class district and one from a precarious class district. From these schools samples of parents were selected. Initially parents were selected for discussion groups. The purpose of these discussion groups was to try to ascertain their collective disposition towards education exploring their process of school choice. From these, particular groups of parents were selected for more in depth interviews, which enabled an understanding of the development of habitus over three generations. In addition their class position and educational attainment was elaborated with the use of quantitative data.

Table 3. Stages of Sampling & Data Collection

Stage of Data Collection	Criteria	Sample
Selection of <u>Schools</u> in correspondence with RMC fractions	<i>Typical cases</i> Two kinds of private schools that are typical cases of schools for the two RMC fractions under study were selected: <u>School A</u> : 'Network school' (for predominantly consolidated RMC) <u>School B</u> : 'Low-cost school' (for predominantly precarious RMC)	Two Schools: - School A - School B
Selection of group of <u>families</u> for discussion groups	<i>Typical cases</i> RMC families with different occupational backgrounds that are characteristic of each school were selected (mainly professional and managerial backgrounds in school A; technicians and skilled manual workers in school B)	School A 9 families, 16 parents School B 7 families, 13 parents
Selection of 'group of cases' (<u>families</u>) for in-depth interviews	<i>Maximal variation in the sample</i> From the RMC families that participated in discussion groups in each school (A and B), four of them were called for in-depth interviews as they could represent the greatest heterogeneity in terms of migrant background, parents' educational qualifications, types of work and family size	School A 4 families School B 4 families

For the selection of the two schools, given that the Peruvian Education System is highly stratified (see Background Chapter), it was possible to find circuits of schooling where the two RMC fractions under study prevail. A 'prototype' school for each RMC fraction was then selected (called School A for the consolidated group and School B for the precarious one). Following the typology of sampling strategies in qualitative inquiry proposed by Patton (1990), typical case sampling for the selection of schools was used because both schools promised relevant insights to highlight what is normal or average in each RMC fraction in relation to their processes of educational choice, their discourse about state and private education, and how the disposition for private education has emerged. Thus, it was possible to document different variations and identify important common patterns in relation to these central aspects that the research explores (Miles and Huberman 1994) (in the last section of this chapter a description of each school is included, and the Appendix A also includes a graphic report of the schools and localities)

For the second stage, in each school a sample of RMC families was selected according to the different parents' occupational background provided by each school⁹² and regarding families whose children had been at the school for at least two years to ensure that they had acquired some experience of the private sector (see the families' sample for discussion groups in the Appendix B). The use of this kind of differentiation draws on a tradition of middle class studies where this variable (parents' occupational background) offers relevant insights because it has allowed for the identification significant differences in social mobility, security and lifestyle⁹³. According to the few studies carried out in Peru this also seems to apply in the case of the Peruvian RMC⁹⁴. Finally, for the in-depth interviews the group of RMC families selected (four from each school) was based on them representing to the largest extent possible the diversity of families that belong to each school in terms of migrant background, parents' educational qualifications, types of work and family size. As it was already mentioned in the background chapter, the RMC is not homogeneous. The diversity in the selection of the sample sought to reflect this heterogeneity.

Before the group discussion sessions the parents filled in a form giving their personal details which meant that the appropriate information was obtained to select families for in-depth interviews. The aim here was that this 'group of cases' would reflect both what they had in common that differentiated each RMC fraction from the other, as well as how they differed in

⁹² I had access to the data base of parents' occupational background in each school to obtain a general idea of their composition and guide the selection of 'cases'

⁹³ Middle class studies such as those of Savage, Barlow, Dickens and Fielding (1992), Roberts, K. (2001), Devine et al. (2005)

⁹⁴ Rising middle class studies carried out in Peru (Tapia 1997, Toche et al. 2003, Osorio 2006, Espinal 2011)

their experiences. A small sample was used because the analysis needed to achieve the depth, diversity and richness of material necessary to understand how the habitus has been constructed in both fractions (see the families' sample for in-depth interviews in the Appendix C).

As noticed, the selection of samplings has been based on the relevance of cases instead of their representativeness. Under realism there are two kinds of generalizability, statistical and generative, this work is relevant to the latter. In this perspective, it is expected that the findings will build a better understanding of the generative mechanisms concerning the habitus of the relatively new phenomenon of educational choice in the Peruvian RMC regarding a comprehensive approach that involves not only but also why this shift from state to public education occurs in the Peruvian RMC.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out in two stages – beginning with discussion groups and then in-depth interviews – that mainly involved sets of parents. Firstly parents were called by the school itself to voluntarily participate in the discussion groups and then, four sets of parents who attended these discussions were selected and called for in-depth interviews. Parents participated in the discussion groups and in-depth interviews because in this way it was possible to compare and contrast their different generational account of habitus where some gender differences were found. Although the access, willingness and openness of parents to participate was good it took a long time to complete all the interviews mainly due to the parents' lack of available time to interview them both together. The data collection was carried out between September 2012 and June 2013.

- Access and Ethical Issues

According to The Revised Ethical Guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA 2004:5), all educational research should be conducted within an ethic of respect for: the person, knowledge, the quality of educational research and academic freedom. In agreement with good research practice, three main areas of ethical issues were considered throughout the research phase of the study: informed consent, confidentiality and protection from harm (Cohen et al. 2000:292). In this section I outline the steps taken to provide ethical standards regarding these three principles. For the first stage of data collection my previous knowledge of the school networks – through my work in different institutions in the

educational sector – allowed me to identify gatekeepers who facilitated my access to each school. I had a preliminary meeting with the promoter and/or owner of each school where the purpose of the research was outlined. The research aim and the research design, methods and procedures were explained and there was an opportunity for them to seek clarification. It was explained that the findings of the research would form the basis for doctoral study. Since they were interested in the findings I committed myself to make a presentation to them at the end of the study. Additionally, a confidentiality agreement was signed with each school, where as researcher, I pledged to safeguard the confidentiality of the information and to use it solely for strictly academic purposes.

I subsequently met up with the heads of each school and the aims, design and methodology of the study were explained putting special emphasis on the work with parents. The heads and I agreed that the heads themselves would invite the families for the discussion groups to ensure that the parents would accept⁹⁵. In order to select the families the heads of each school granted me access to general information on the families involved in the school so as to choose a group that would be representative of the different occupational backgrounds. Parents responded to the invitation and each discussion group and in-depth interview started again with a brief description of the research aims, and the procedure for the discussion and the interview respectively. They were also told that the interview data would only be used for research purposes and that anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Likewise, parents were informed of the right to withdraw at any point during the study. They all agreed to this, no one raised any questions about confidentiality and all of them decided to stay⁹⁶. When the data were analysed, I chose to keep the identities of those interviewed confidential and to protect anonymity by replacing the names of schools with letters and the surnames of the participants with other surnames.

In order to ensure that the interviews were conducted in appropriate and comfortable surroundings the place and the time of interviews were chosen by the parents. These included the school, their homes or coffee shops, at the time they found most convenient. A final aspect I would like to mention is that I was quite impressed by the openness most of the parents showed during the interviews and by their engagement with their own narratives of their intergenerational experiences in the education system and about their process of school choice for their children. These were recounted with heartfelt emotion. In some

⁹⁵ Given the lack of a strong research tradition in the country, it was very unlikely that parents would have responded to an invitation made directly by the researcher.

⁹⁶ As Balarin (2006) recognizes in previous research carried out in the country, the apparent lack of concern with confidentiality issues might be more related to the lack of a strong research tradition in the country, than with concerns over ethical issues.

instances their accounts of difficult experiences and limited opportunities in their trajectories became emotional and I tried to respond with sensitivity. As almost every set of parents mentioned on finishing the interviews, these became an opportunity to talk, the opportunity to tell their story, and they felt grateful.

- *Discussion Groups*

The initial stage of data collection aimed at conducting discussion groups in order to explore opinions, positions, expectations and beliefs among RMC parents in relation to private and state education as well as the process involved in their school choice but specially to explore the nature of their arguments. The format of group discussions was chosen because it “may reveal how opinions are created and above all changed, asserted, or suppressed in social exchange such as in everyday life” (Flick 2006: 196). Statements and opinions were commented on and became the subject of a dynamic process of discussion where arguments were questioned and their distribution and sharing in a group was identified.

Two discussion groups were established in each school with three to five sets of parents. Both mother and father were invited and in most cases both attended. The discussions lasted between two and a half and three hours, and were held at night (usually Tuesday or Friday) and Saturday morning. I was in charge of the conduct of each discussion group session but had the support of a beginner researcher as participant observer. Each session began with an explanation of the procedure for the discussion group and then a short introduction of the members to one another. A phase of warming up followed to prepare the discussion by asking the parents to imagine their children in 15 years’ time and what they expected them to be or to have achieved by then. The actual discussion then started focusing on how and to what extent education and other factors that they identified as relevant had an influence on the accomplishment of these achievements. In the second part each set of parents was requested to describe the processes involved in the selection of school. This was followed by a discussion that centred on “excavating and interrogating the common sense and naturalness” (Ball 2003:3) which underpins their reasoning and practices in relation to state and private education. The last part of the discussion revolved around the reasons why the families were choosing to take on the responsibility for the provision of education services and were not calling on the state to fulfil this function (see the guide of the discussion groups in the Appendix D).

Discussion groups turned out to be crucial in exploring a variety of rational criteria involved in the process of school choice as well as cultural dimensions that speak of class identification

and differentiation, social closure strategies, matters of disposition, status and exclusivity. Moreover, the first significant insights regarding the prevalence of a kind of discourse related to an absent and discredited state as well as self-enterprising citizens for the provision of educational services and the incorporation of market principles for the management of these services were collected. One of the limitations of the discussion group as method appears during the interpretation of the data where problems often arise related to difficulties of identifying and comparing the opinions and views of the individual group members (Flick 2006). This is discussed in the next section (see Analyzing the data). Additionally, discussion groups were combined with in-depth interviews to couples of parents, in part to address the difficulties mentioned⁹⁷.

- *In-depth interviews*

The second stage of data collection sought to understand how, over time, RMC parents had incorporated individual responsibility for the provision of education as a disposition [habitus]. To this end, in-depth interviews were carried out to explore the RMC habitus formation process as a process influenced by i. the upward social mobility which brings different opportunities and conditions for the (trans)formation of habitus in each generation, ii. the different social position of each RMC fraction that provided different contexts for the habitus' formation, and iii. the prevalence of political and economic neoliberalism with its emphasis on markets and its encouragement of entrepreneurial models for the provision of services such as education. This was explored through an intergenerational view which includes the experiences of grandparents, parents and children but recounted by parents. The purpose was to explore how different schooling experiences, the opportunities and constraints of the context that surrounded each generation and each RMC fraction had influenced the adoption of different dispositions in relation to education. Likewise the interviews aimed to explore how the particular RMC experiences of the state in their trajectory of class formation had contributed to the prevalence of a discourse that made them self-enterprising citizens in charge of the provision of services such as education.

In the first part of the interview parents were asked to talk about the educational trajectory of their parents, themselves and their children through open questions about their schooling experiences⁹⁸. The accounts were focused on the opportunities and constraints that each

⁹⁷ Although in-depth interviews had different objective as method of collecting data, central aspects mentioned in the discussion groups were brought back in the interviews.

⁹⁸ For the intergenerational view only parents were interviewed. They provided information about the experience of the other two generations (grandparents and children)

generation encountered and experienced. The outcome of this was a series of narratives which were particularly illustrative of the schooling experience of each generation and the salient characteristics of the context that surrounded them. These characteristics say a lot about the educational structures that prevailed in each generation as well as the different living conditions and circumstances that surrounded each generation and each RMC fraction in their process of ascendant social mobility⁹⁹. In the second part of the interview parents were asked to recount their experiences of the state regarding the provision of different services in addition to education, such as health, housing, safety and security, and transport. The purpose was to explore through these experiences the prevalence and foundations of a discourse related to the state as provider of services, to the leading role (or not) of self-enterprising citizens, and the prevalence of market rules and principles in the provision of educational services¹⁰⁰.

Four sets of parents who had previously attended discussion groups were interviewed in each school. Both the mother and the father participated (only in one case did just the father attend). In the case of school A I interviewed most parents in social areas near the school and only one set of parents chose to be interviewed at home. In the case of school B, all the parents chose to be interviewed in the school. The interviews lasted approximately two hours. Carrying out the interviews after they had participated in the discussion groups certainly contributed to building rapport, and allowed the use of a reflexive approach because it was possible to share with the parents the initial findings and interpretations that had emerged from the discussion groups. Likewise, this was a way to add further reliability to the analysis (Lincoln and Guba 1985 in Lather 1993, Flick 2006).

I was impressed by the openness parents showed. Only at the beginning of the discussion groups with the precarious RMC group did I notice shame, embarrassment and unease but these were rapidly overcome. In general, the parents were articulate and very willing to take the opportunity to talk about their children and their family trajectories in education. As interviewer, I sought not to be overfriendly but to be a 'sympathetic listener' using a conversational style, especially in the interviews (Cotterill 1992:604 cited by Vicent and Ball 2006). The issues were discussed in an informal style, to which the parents were able to respond, and there was 'active listening' to what they said before responding with questions that would further open up the issues and topics being explored (Oakley 1999:155). In some

⁹⁹ Additionally, relevant quantitative information about their ascendant trajectories was also collected in the interviews using indicators such as: years of schooling, type of schooling (rural/urban schools, state/subsidized/private school), levels of education achieved, careers and employment

¹⁰⁰ Several issues concerning educational provision initially discussed in the discussion group were taken up again in this part of the interview.

instances their accounts of difficult experiences and limited opportunities in their trajectories became emotional and I endeavoured to respond with sensitivity.

Each discussion group and in-depth interview was recorded and then transcribed, most of them by myself considering the fact that transcribing one's own interviews 'has the advantage of familiarising you with the data' (Fielding & Thomas 2001:136)¹⁰¹. Moreover, I kept context protocols and field notes where I documented relevant information and committed any initial thoughts or ideas about discussion groups and interviews at the first available opportunity after their completion. Additionally, all this information was complemented by informal interviews with the school heads and owner. Likewise, I attended an informative talk where the educational approach of the school was explained to parents interested in having their children study at School A. In the case of school B, I participated in an activity for the anniversary of the school, which allowed me to have a clearer idea about the families. Although this latter data were not directly used for the analysis, it was useful to have a more clear view of the schools and the families that sent their children there.

Analyzing the data

The analysis of data was conducted regarding the multilevel explanatory scheme used in this research and includes: (i) the analysis of social practice (school choice) comprising the recognition and interpretation of the value of education for the Peruvian RMC as well as the rationalist and culturalist aspects in their current process of school choice; (ii) the analysis of the habitus formation process based on different schooling experiences, contexts and circumstances that each RMC generation went through in their process of ascendant mobility; (iii) a deeper analysis of the influence of the broader context of political and economic neoliberalism in the adoption of the habitus for individual responsibility for the provision of educational services. A comparative approach, regarding similarities and differences between both RMC fractions has been considered throughout the analysis. Likewise, although I paid close attention to the search for collective patterns, 'individual' differences, when these appeared, have also been highlighted.

For the analysis of social practice in the first stage of the study relevant literature concerning school choice was reviewed. Additionally, a pilot phase was implemented to validate the set of guidelines for discussion groups and in-depth interviews which allowed a first approach to

¹⁰¹ I decided first to transcribe all the discussion groups and interviews in Spanish that is the language in which data was collected

parents' responses. With all this information collected a preliminary version of the main themes and issues related to the value of education and the process of school choice in Peruvian RMC was developed. Next, I began with an initial reading of the discussion groups' transcripts and my field notes in an attempt to familiarize myself with the data. As a result of this process a broader and more complete framework of themes and issues was developed. At this point of the process, I moved back and forth between the data and my original research questions to ensure coherence and that the material was well organized. As the analysis progressed I sometimes went back to the transcriptions to search for new elements to include in the framework until I feel that I had been able to include and organize all 'the diversity of circumstances and characteristics within the data' (Ritchie et al. 2003:221).

Because the search for meaning among research data is the search for patterns, the majority of themes and issues precisely arise from regular patterns in the parents' responses. In each case, I gathered together different quotations in a similar direction, or one quotation that was very representative, or two or more opposite or contradictory quotations. Quotes illuminate and provide insight for each theme and issue identified. Next, I began the interpretation of the data guided by my previous theoretical knowledge of the topic matching this up with the findings of the fieldwork. It is worth noticing that while most of the rationalist aspects of school choice were explicitly expressed by the parents, culturalist elements (related to matters of disposition, status and exclusivity among others) needed to be inferred.

The analysis of the habitus formation process was mainly based on the data from in-depth interviews. Each set of parents interviewed provided one 'history' of educational trajectory that included: (i) the reconstruction of the habitus formation process across the generations, and (ii) the use of a kind of causal narrative where the emergence of different dispositions was related to the opportunities and constraints that surrounded each generation. The analysis began with the identification of common patterns and regularities in practices and preferences about education that emerged and prevailed in each generation according to parents' narratives. Dispositions that underlined them were inferred and both, practices and dispositions as a coherent "lifestyle" were put in dialogue with the salient characteristics of the educational system as well as the process of upward social mobility that prevailed in each generation. I aimed to discern orientations to the social world in relation to the educational system and patterns of social mobility which were not necessarily explicitly articulated, drawing in turn upon ideas developed in the situating and theoretical chapters.

Putting the experience of social agents in dialogue with the objective structures which made this possible allowed the construction of chains of reasoning, as causal narratives, to understand the habitus formation process in each and across RMC generations. It was especially relevant the analysis of processes of consciousness about the transformation of the habitus when in their experiences parents confronted events that caused self-questioning because the lack of fit between their habitus and the new spheres of the educational field that each RMC experienced. The analysis also allowed the possibility of a clearer idea of how the habitus formation process was influenced by the process of RMC's social mobility. In relation to this, although the analysis was basically qualitative, quantitative information was also collected and analyzed to show evidence of upward social and educational mobility across the three generations in each RMC group. Basic quantitative information related to years of schooling, educational achievements, careers and employments for each generation was gathered in the interviews. This information was analyzed using basic statistics and graphics that clearly reveal the upward mobility and also different patterns and pace of it between the consolidated and the precarious RMC groups.

Finally, the analysis of the habitus formation process also considered the influence of the broader context in which this disposition was constructed. I specifically refer to how political and economic neoliberalism with its emphasis on markets and its encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains has penetrated the RMC discourse. The analysis was mainly based on the accounts of different experiences of the state collected by in-depth interviews¹⁰². It was focused on the discourse that prevails in relation to: i. the image of the state for the provision of social services, ii. the image of citizens as providers of these services for themselves, iii. the incorporation of market principles in the provision and management of educational services. All this was analyzed in dialogue with Foucault's concepts of governmentality and self-enterprising citizens as a route for structuring subjectivities.

The reliability of the narratives

I want to finish this section by briefly discussing some issues related to the reliability of the narratives on which this study is based. This is mainly due to the fact that access to the narratives of the three RMC generations of the sample was through interviews with only one generation, the parents. This methodological choice responded to the difficulties in

¹⁰² Although relevant data previously collected in the discussion groups and related with these issues was also analyzed.

accessing both grandparents - some of them were very old, others spoke Quechua (an indigenous language not spoken by the researcher), or have died -; and the children were too young for the interviews (they were between 6 and 9 years old). Thus, although access to the narratives only through the parents certainly entails limitations, a number of measures were employed to deal with them and to ensure acceptable levels of reliability.

First in the pilot phase several in-depth interviews were carried out to evaluate whether the information and interpretation provided by the parents in relation to the grandparents' educational trajectory seemed plausible, coherent and credible. All of them were able to provide relevant information, although they also recognized the aspects they were unsure of¹⁰³. However this did not compromise the consistency of the main narratives. Likewise, an approach to methodological triangulation was used. The information provided by the parents' narratives was contrasted with quantitative information about the educational trajectories collected at the beginning of the interview¹⁰⁴, in order to establish their coherence. Additionally, since the narratives were about schooling experiences and their relation with the salient characteristics of the context that surrounded them, the plausibility of the parents' references to the context was contrasted with the information developed in the situating chapter of the research¹⁰⁵. Finally, in an informal manner, most of the completed narratives of each family interviewed was presented to two RMC researchers who acted as interlocutors during some stages of the research. They also judged the coherence and plausibility of the narratives highlighting some possible bias in their interpretations.

4.4 Contextualizing the study

*Schools and Localities*¹⁰⁶:

The schools are located in two peripheral districts of Lima, Los Olivos (school A) and Villa Maria del Triunfo (school B), which are areas that offer an interesting contrast of rising middle class composition. Los Olivos (LO), in North Lima, is a relatively 'new', modern and flourishing district (created in 1989), widely known as the most up-and-coming district in Lima and with a large number of commercial areas. With 318,000 inhabitants, it represents 3.9% of Lima's population. The district has a large proportion of consolidated RMC families

¹⁰³ The lack of information was also registered.

¹⁰⁴ These refer to the grandparents' educational achievement, levels of education, careers and employment

¹⁰⁵ This included the social, political and economic conditions surrounding the emergence of this RMC sector, its relationship with the state, and the evolution of the Peruvian Educational System

¹⁰⁶ A graphic report of Schools and Localities is included in the Appendix A

that belong to B and C socio-economic classes (both represent almost 60% of the district's population), while 30% correspond to the precarious RMC families (level D) and 12.5% of the population live in poverty (APEIM 2009). In the case of Villa Maria del Triunfo (VMT) it is an 'old' and traditional district located in South Lima. It was created in 1961 as a result of the first migration waves. With 378,500 inhabitants, it accounts for 5% of Lima's population. Almost 50% of its inhabitants correspond to the precarious RMC while 30% are consolidated RMC. A quarter of its population lives in poverty (APEIM 2009). The educational offer in both districts includes private and state schools but in different proportions. While in LO 76% of schools are private, in VMT 65% are. Private enrolment in LO is 51% while in VMT it is lower at 42% (ESCALE, 2012).

School A is one of the 'top' and more expensive private schools in Los Olivos, enjoying high prestige and in great demand¹⁰⁷. It has been operating since 2006 and currently has 380 students offering pre-school, primary and secondary education, with a class size of 30 students on average. It is a co-educational secular school. Three years ago it was bought by one of the leading financial groups in the country and now belongs to a kind of 'network of schools' with similar prototype schools distributed in the most emerging districts in Lima and other cities in the country¹⁰⁸. Its fees are equivalent to \$150 a month¹⁰⁹. As an educational alternative it contrasts strongly with the local educational offer in Los Olivos. Its infrastructure is considerably better than the average schools in the district and its educational approach is also quite different. What the school offers takes into account what is currently in demand in the labour market and will continue to be so in the future¹¹⁰. In line with this, they are committed to innovation and to preparing students to adapt to a changing world, developing skills in them that may help them in this process (they focus on English language teaching, the adaptation to new and different contexts and teamwork). They consider this to be their differential advantage as well as their offer of an all-round education with which they seek to distance themselves from proposals focused principally on university entrance (pre-university schools).

¹⁰⁷ They already have full registration for most school years until 2014.

¹⁰⁸ There are currently 12 schools of this network in Lima and in 2013 they are going to start to open in at least 3 cities outside Lima. It is the first private initiative of network schools in Latin America that is financially supported by the Inter American Development Bank (IDB)

¹⁰⁹ The annual cost per student is \$1534 in addition to which an entry fee equivalent to \$194 is paid.

¹¹⁰ In the informative talk directed at the families interested in entering the school they present what the labour market, and especially, companies will require in the near future, both at international and national levels: multiculturality, mobility, internationally recognized certification, humanistic education, teamwork, leadership and negotiation skills, etc.

School B is the type of ‘low-cost’ school that proliferates in the more precarious RMC sectors. In fact, there are two other low-cost schools and two large state schools near school B. It is a small institution that offers pre-school and primary education, with 107 students and a class size of 10 students on average¹¹¹. The school was recently created in 2008 as part of a small family business belonging to three sisters who worked in the educational sector. One of them is the head teacher but she also works as a teacher in a state school. The other two sisters also continue working in the state and private sector respectively and give pedagogic support to the team of school teachers as part of the latter’s training. The school offers a basic infrastructure that is in better conditions than average low-cost schools. While most of these schools function in family houses converted into schools, school B has been built as a school establishment and investments have been made to improve its infrastructure. The monthly fee is \$50 and families also pay an entry fee equivalent to \$44. Additionally and supplementary to its educational offer, school B offers extra-curricular activities focused on arts, dance and sports. Most families live in the surrounding area.

The parents

The research involves discussion groups with a respondent group of 16 mothers and 13 fathers (29 parents in total from 16 families). After their participation in the discussion groups, four sets of parents from each school were called again for in-depth interviews (15 parents in couples were interviewed in total¹¹²). In addition, the head teacher and owner of each school were interviewed. In total I conducted 4 discussion groups with parents and 8 in-depth interviews with both parents.

Table 4. The respondents

Respondents:		Mothers	Fathers	Total
School A Los Olivos	Discussion Group	9	7	16
	In-depth Interviews	4	4	8
School B Villa Maria del Triunfo, NE	Discussion Group	7	6	13
	In-depth Interviews ⁶	3	4	7
				33

¹¹¹ The school started with 5 students enrolled. The number of students has progressively increased and many of them come from different state and private schools from the area

¹¹² Just in one case did only one parent attend the interview (from school B)

There are different variables that show the main differences between the two samples of parents of the study and their belonging to the consolidated and the precarious RMC fractions, such as their educational qualifications, occupational backgrounds, average income and kind of housing which account for their common choice of private schools, even though it occurs in very different contexts (see the families' sample in the Appendix B and C). Both groups of parents interviewed are compared below taking these variables into consideration. In relation to educational qualifications, comparing the fathers in each group, those in School A have higher qualifications (table 5). Most of them have undergraduate studies from state universities (67%) (only one father studied at a private one), and two of them have continued their professional education throughout their careers through specialization courses (post-graduate diplomas). However, this group also includes one father that only completed secondary school. In the case of School B, most fathers have vocational studies (such as bartender, building assistant) as their highest educational qualification, one has technical studies (such as IT supporter), and two of them only completed secondary school¹¹³. An exception to this is a father that completed undergraduate studies at a state university.

Table 5. Fathers' Educational Qualifications

	Post- Graduate Diploma	Undergraduate Studies	Technical Studies	Vocational Complete	Studies Incomp.	Secondary Education
School A	2	6				1
School B		1	1	2	1	2
Total	2	7		3	1	3

In the case of the mothers' educational qualifications the difference between the two samples is even greater (table 6). Although both samples have a similar proportion of mothers with vocational education (44% in the case of school A and 43% in school B), most

¹¹³ In the Peruvian Education System *vocational education* offers two kinds of qualification: as auxiliary technical after one-year training, and as technical after two-years training in vocational institutions called *Centros de Educación Técnico Productivo* (CETPRO). *Technical education* offers technical qualification in different specialties and careers after four years of technical studies in Higher Technical Education Institutions (called *Institutos de Educación Superior Técnica* (IEST)). According to Sanz (2014), this is similar to basic education where the increase in the supply of higher education has not necessarily meant an improvement in its quality. As a result the graduates of higher education are, in general, low-skilled (poor technical and generic competences) for work in the labour market. This not only limits the employment (according to the National Survey of Youth 2011, of the total number of young people who studied any career, specialty, or short course for work only 40% mentioned to be working in occupations related to what studied); but it generates, between those who are working, low productivity and low income levels (which translates into reduced returns to the investment of those who choose to continue their studies in IEST and CETPROS (Yamada (2007))

School A mothers (56%) have undergraduate studies (one of them is currently undergoing post-graduate studies), while the majority of school B mothers (57%) only completed secondary education. Regarding gender differences, fathers have higher qualifications than mothers in both groups with this difference being more pronounced for school B.

Table 6. Mothers' Educational Qualifications

	Post-Graduate Diploma	Undergraduate Studies	Vocational Studies Complete	Incomp.	Secondary Education
School A	1	5	3	1	
School B			3		4
Total	1	5	6	1	4

In terms of occupational background, the sample of fathers from school A is split between professional and managerial occupations. The most common professional careers among these fathers are administration (43%), accountancy (14%), economics (14%) and biology (14%). Most of them are salaried employees (65%) in full-time employment and all of them practice their profession in the state sector (28%) as well as NGOs (14%) and in private companies (28%) (as accountants, managers of environmental projects and university teachers). Those that are self-employed (33%), manage their own small and medium-sized businesses in sectors such as transportation, shoes and the food business. In the case of school B fathers, the majority of them are skilled manual employees (57%) in different areas such as storage, telecommunication or building; one is a computer technician (14%), another a manual worker (locksmith) (14%) and one has a professional occupation as a lawyer (14%). Most of them work for the private sector (58%), only one father works for the public sector (14%) and another two (28%) manage their own small independent businesses.

Table 7. Fathers' Occupational Background

	Professional Occupation	Managerial Occupation	Technical Occupation	Skilled Manual Occupation
School A	4	3		
School B	1		1	5
Total	5	3	1	5

Among the School A mothers their careers are similar to the fathers: administration (22%), accountancy (22%), biology (11%), and education (11%), and also include technical careers such as cosmetology and secretarial studies (22%). The critical difference is that most

mothers are mainly homemakers in charge of bringing up the children and combine this with occasional (33%), part-time (22%) or full-time (11%) jobs. However, 33% of them are exclusively homemakers. Among school B mothers, all of them are mainly homemakers. Only three of them (43%) combine bringing up their children with occasional jobs on an hourly basis out of home as a saleswoman, cleaning assistant or physiotherapist. This mothers' 'exclusive' dedication to the care of their children, that includes their involvement in the school run, is a common pattern in both RMC fractions and will be analyzed later.

Table 8. Mothers' Occupational Background

	Homemaker	Professional Occupation	Managerial Occupation	Technical Occupation	Skilled Manual Occupation
School A	9	1(FT) + 1(PT)	1(PT) + 1(OJ)	0	1(PT) + 1(OJ)
School B	7	0		2(OJ)	1(OJ)
Total	16	2	2	2	3

(FT) = Full-time job(PT) = Part time job (OJ) = Occasional job

According to this distribution of parental occupation in both groups, the fathers are the heads of the household and provide the largest proportion of the family income. In relation to this, family income is clearly different between both groups being higher for school A families and an indicator of the difference between both RMC fractions (table 9). Another indicator is the kind of housing that prevails in each group. While most families from school A live in their own house, the majority of families from school B still live in houses that they share with other relatives (see table 10)

Table 9. Family Average Income frequency

	Over \$1550	[\$750 – \$1550]	[\$350-\$750]	Total
School A	4	3	1	9
School B	0	2	5	7
Total	4	5	6	

Table 10: Family housing

	Own House	Rented House	Shared House	Total
School A	7	1	1	9
School B	1	1	5	7
Total	8	2	6	

Regarding the set of variables described (educational qualifications, occupational background, family income and family housing), most families from school A sample belong to the socio-economic classes B and C which correspond to a consolidated RMC; while the majority of school B's sample families belong to socio-economic class D and correspond to a more precarious RMC sector¹¹⁴. It is worth noticing that, as it is a representative characteristic of RMC, there is not always an exact correspondence between all these variables. Thus, on the one hand, in school A there is a family in which the parents have only completed secondary education but they are managing their own medium-sized business and earn the highest income of all the families in the sample. On the other hand, in school B there is a family with parents with professional careers but they obtain a clearly lower income than the first example. Finally, in relation to family size, it varies between one and four children, with the majority in both areas having one or two. Only in school A were large families found but, in general, family size in both samples corresponds with the tendency to decreasing family size in the RMC.

Table 11. Family size frequency

	Families with 1 child	Families with 2 children	Families with 4 children	Total
School A	3	4	2	9
School B	4	3	0	7
Total	7	7	2	

Conclusion This research is situated within the general framework of realist sociology regarding the multilevel explanatory scheme proposed by Bourdieu as starting point and as evidence of the concern with constructing models of generative mechanisms where causality is inferred by abductive reasoning from data patterns to an underlying causal mechanism. Habitus is central in this explanatory model, which is explored in a sample of RMC's parents to understand their disposition to assume individual responsibility for the provision of education services.

As generative mechanism which operates often at the unconscious level the approach to the habitus becomes difficult and challenging. Different methodological considerations have been taken into account which have allowed an examination of the habitus through parental discourse collected in discussion groups and in-depth interviews since the 'actors can distance themselves from their habitus by making it discursive'(Haugaard 2008:193).

¹¹⁴ I am taking as reference the current socio-economic class categorization used in Peru where letter A represents the highest class and the letter E the lowest.

While the majority of studies dedicated to habitus in different fields have been focused on its analysis at any particular point of time, this research has worked with a dynamic understanding of habitus through the exploration of its process of formation across RMC generations. Then an intergenerational view and a comparative perspective regarding two extremes of the rising group, the consolidated and the precarious fractions, have provided the opportunity for a dynamic study of the process of structuring and re-structuring of habitus as well as to regard the influence of the social position in it.

PART FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 5. SCHOOL CHOICE IN TWO PERUVIAN RMC FRACTIONS: BEYOND THE SEARCH FOR A BETTER EDUCATION QUALITY

For the analysis of findings to understand the process of school choice in the RMC as social practice my work has basically followed two premises. The first premise is that the decision of emerging middle class families to choose private schooling is not only made in response to the crisis in state schooling from which they seek to distance themselves so that their children may have better opportunities in the present and future (making precise use of a strategic approach). It would also be in response to a habitus that has emerged in this social sector with regard to the individual assumption of responsibility for the provision of educational services. Thus, as well as a series of logical or strategic criteria which are the basis for parental choice of school, there are other types of criteria which reflect the practical sense and natural logic of this social group very related to their process of upward social mobility. This is the work of 'class wisdom' as stated by Lauder et al 1999., and refers to the kinds of decisions that are 'made automatically', 'taken for granted', and 'always assumed' (Ball 2003). The other premise, complementary to the latter, is that private education may play a relevant role through social and cultural capital that may be accumulated and, as Ball (1997:2) affirms "may facilitate the construction of the metaphorical qualities or status and prestige to those who possess it, i.e. symbolic capital". This would become relevant for RMC as a strategy of social transformation in their process of upward mobility.

This chapter presents an analysis of how RMC parents' priorities, preferences, beliefs, strategies and behaviours in the process of school choosing might be accounted for through a rational cost-benefit analysis as well as a culturalist perspective that includes symbolic issues, social closure practices, distinction and taste. Divided into four sections, the first begins with an analysis of the value of education for the RMC in relation with particular characteristics of this social group and its context of emergence. Section two includes relevant aspects that characterize the process of school choosing for the RMC, especially the fact that they are newcomers in the market. In the third section the process of parental

choice is analyzed from the rational approach, i.e. the RMC parents' reasons for their choice. Finally, the last section includes an analysis from the culturalist approach based on strong emotional and cultural aspects in the parents' discourse where matters of disposition and taste are inferred.

This part of the analysis is mainly based on RMC parents' responses to discussion groups, and hence, numerous quotations are included. Some of them are given fictitious surnames to protect their anonymity, and others are identified just as mother or father from a specific school¹¹⁵. Since the study involves two RMC fractions, the consolidated and the precarious, the analysis considers the differences and similarities between the parents' discourse in both fractions in their process of school choice.

5.1 The value of education for the RMC

When I started to investigate the discourse and processes related to the choice of schools in RMC families, one of my initial questions centred on the value that school education currently has for this sector, which is normally characterized by consumer euphoria, a short-term perspective, and a strong "credentialist" function attributed to school education (Toche 2009, Benavides 2012 (*pers. comm.*) 22 August 2012). However, what is particularly important in their class trajectory – and broadly recognized – is the role played by education in their process of upward social mobility and transformation into a rising middle class. As noted already, the grandparents' generation – the migrants that arrived in the city – were bearers of what Peruvian anthropology has called 'the myth of education', according to which access to education was an almost sufficient requirement to aspire to upward mobility (Toche 2009)¹¹⁶. The accounts mainly given by the parents of the consolidated group in our study effectively refer to the efforts made by the grandparents (first generation) to complete their schooling under adverse conditions; but above all, their commitment that all their children should receive education, this involving not only school education but also university or higher technological studies. It is for this second generation – the parents' generation – for whom education and specifically the opportunity for professionalization represented the touchstone to becoming middle class (Toche 2009, Pedraglio 2003).

The narratives of the parents interviewed give an account of the different efforts undertaken by the families so that they and all their brothers and sisters could have access to higher

¹¹⁵ The first are set of parents who participated in both discussion groups and in-depth interviews, for this reason is posible to identify them with surnames

¹¹⁶ See the Background Chapter

education as well as interpreting the fact that others could not achieve this as a failure¹¹⁷. These efforts range from the parents' financial support to pay for their children's studies; the work at an early age of the oldest children in the family business or as shop assistants so that they could pay for their studies themselves; the sibling support networks (older siblings lending money to younger ones to cover their studies); to the efforts made to continue studying after finishing school so as to enter university and then stay on at university. They acknowledged that having a profession gave them the opportunity to position themselves in the labour market in better conditions than their grandparents' generation and enable their families to enjoy better living conditions. In comparative terms, it is worth noting that for the parents of the precarious group, the situation described above only occurred for one set of parents but most of them neither had parents that were particularly concerned about their education nor received parental or family support for their education. Rather, they themselves are taking on this role regarding their own education and especially, their children's education. Thus, it is a generation later that the value and meaning of education have become relevant for their trajectory of upward social mobility.

In this context different questions arose: for the current generation, does education continue to have the same value as a means to make the future viable for the individual and families? Does education contribute to strengthening their process of upward mobility? How is education related to their present class aspirations? and, which is a central concern in this study, what type of education are we talking about? For this exploration of the value of education for both fractions of RMC families, the investigation considered not only a future perspective, but also included what it represented in the present (considering the premise that it would be representing the realization of a class aspirational logic). Different studies about parental choice of school in the context of social class include in their analyses long-term and short-term views about education, or the distinction between education as a consumer good (present) and as an investment good (future), because they offer relevant considerations for the analysis specially in transformative contexts such as the one presented in this study (Bowe et. al. 1994, Ball et al 1995, 1996, Reay and Ball 1997, Hatcher 1998, Adnett and Davies 2002, Ball 2003).

¹¹⁷ This is clearly expressed by one of the mothers interviewed, with regard to one of her sisters said: *"She (her fourth sister) did not study anything after leaving school, she messed things up and got pregnant... things have not gone well for her in life"* (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

The perspective of the future and the role attributed to education

- An optimistic repertoire of imaginary futures for children

When the parents were asked to imagine their children in 15 or 20 years' time, parental aspirations were clear and varied. Both groups conveyed an optimistic repertoire of imaginary futures for their children (see chart 1 in the next page). The most common aspiration was that they should be successful professionals. Their expectations included a wide range of careers and occupations such as engineers, designers, architects, publicity agents, scientists, veterinary surgeons, managers of their own businesses, politicians, sportsmen or women, dancers, musicians¹¹⁸. There was a clear preference among most parents that they should achieve this by pursuing university studies as is clearly expressed by a mother from School B *"he must be a professional, he should definitely apply to university. That's what I have in mind now, that he should definitely go to university!"* However, in the consolidated group some parents did not rule out that their children might choose a technical career. In discussing this, another aspect was continuously stressed by parents in relation to their children's performance: they should make their best effort, they should go as far as they could and be the best wherever they might be: *"it doesn't have to be at a university, it can be at an institute but it should be a good one and my son should aim to be the best"* (Mrs. Chura, School A)¹¹⁹. It is worth noting that this discourse about being 'the best' was not present as a dominant discourse among parents from the precarious RMC group.

RMC parents from both fractions considered the option for undergraduate studies after school as indisputable. However, while this was mentioned as the highest expectation for the precarious RMC group of parents, more than half of the consolidated group expressed the expectation that their children should have pursued further education or have had experience working abroad. They argued that based on their own work experience they knew that the labour market increasingly demanded these types of requirements¹²⁰. Those who had their own businesses indicated that experience working abroad was an important

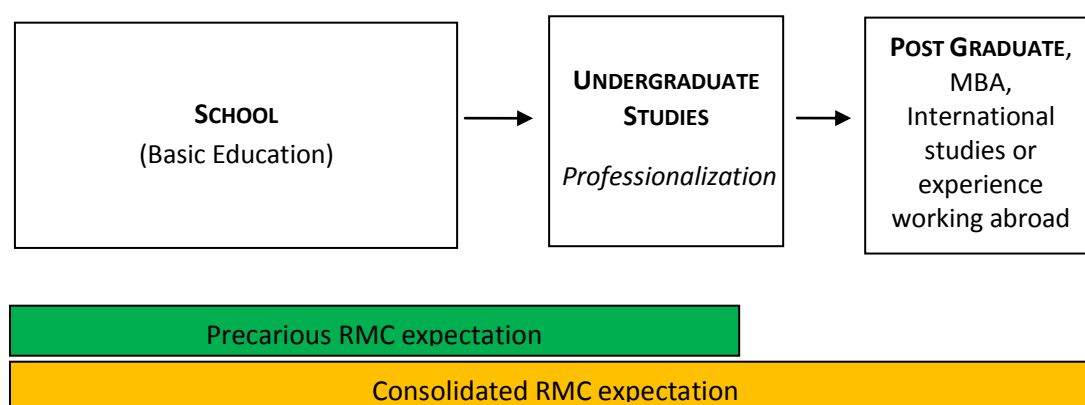
¹¹⁸ As it will be analyzed in the next chapter, this diversity of careers and occupations constitutes an important difference in relation to the parents' generation who had much more restricted options

¹¹⁹ It is interesting to note some initial positions expressing openness and tolerance in accepting what the children decided to study, although this did not match what the parents expected, as stated by this mother: *"sometimes one feels frustrated because one dreams that one's son is going to be a professional but if he is happy doing something else and does not go to university, well, so be it... what is important is that he be a good person"* (Mother, School A). However, this is accompanied by practices that contradict the discourse. In this case the mother decided to change her son to another school that, in her opinion, prepares students better for university entrance (one of her sons is in secondary school).

¹²⁰ This was mentioned by both kinds of parents: professional and managerial workers

asset, and an area in which they (parents) felt at a disadvantage. Another interesting aspect is that the view of experiences abroad was not only focused on the Latin American region or the United States but also included an emerging interest in China and Japan.

Chart 1. Parents' "desirable" education trajectory for their children



In conjunction with the expectations in terms of their children's professional future, most parents from both fractions also mentioned aspects related to possibilities for self-fulfilment: that their children should be happy, that they should be able to do the things they liked doing, what they were truly passionate about or found rewarding, and that they should be able to earn a living doing that; that they should be good people, and that they should have internalized the importance of setting goals in order to get on in life. Other sets of expectations mentioned mainly by the group of consolidated RMC parents were related to the construction of support networks (*"that he should be able to count on friends and family that can help him and who he can also help"* Mr. Miranda), as well as a perspective regarding community service (*"that they should seek to help others without expecting financial reward"* Mr. Llerena). Only a few parents mentioned an expectation of openness to the world through travelling and meeting other people, and experiencing other environments and cultures. In terms of the financial perspective, although it was acknowledged to be important, nobody stated it as a priority objective. In relation to this, the position of the majority of parents is reflected in what one of the mothers said: *"I hope that he's neither poor nor a millionaire, but that he has an adequate income"* (Mrs. Llerena)¹²¹.

As can be seen, although for the families' expectations for the future are largely centred on their professional development, this is accompanied by a varied and ambitious range of

¹²¹ It is worth noting that the parents did not make distinctions in their expectations according to gender, these were similar for their daughters and sons.

further expectations specially for the consolidated group (self-fulfilment, happiness, community development, adequate income, openness to the world). This differs from the minimalist and short-term perspective that is attributed to this emerging sector (Toche 2009). The optimism and confidence of RMC parents about the future achievements of their children is remarkable especially for the consolidated group. They were able to envisage their child in a yet to be actualised context and speculate about the future of their offspring which might be interpreted as confidence in upward mobility (or at least to maintain their current status). However, are these expectations realistic or is there a discrepancy between ambition and possibilities? Similar to what was found by Reay and Lucey (2004:36), RMC parents "remained dependent on a smooth educational pathway in which sufficient examination credentials are gained to ensure a place at a 'good' university and entry into the graduate professions". In this perspective education is considered an investment good.

- *Entrepreneurial 'spirit', education and family support as key factors to achieving this future*

On asking the parents what factors would help the achievement of the kind of future expected for their children¹²², almost all of them mentioned the development of an enterprising attitude, that is, that they should have clear objectives for improvement and persist in the achievement of these objectives. They consider that this attitude will make all the difference in an increasingly competitive labour market. This was particularly clear and made explicit by parents from the consolidated group. What is learnt at school is likewise valued because the parents recognize that this specialized knowledge is also required by the market. In this way, as Ball (1997:2) points out "education provides material advantages which might accrue from academic success". For the case of the "desirable" life trajectory expressed by RMC parents for their children, as Ball et al. (1995:68) argues the choice of primary school would represent "the first of several strategic decisions involved in the careful construction of their child's school career" with the main objective that they can go on to higher education.

Regarding the development of networks and contacts (social capital), parents from the consolidated RMC fraction considered that these effectively contribute to making the path to achieving their aims easier and shorter. In this way, they appreciate the guidance and support that may be given by the people or professionals that are closer to their children's

¹²² Four alternatives were presented to the parents in the discussion groups as factors that could condition the achievement of the kind of future expected for their children: entrepreneurialism, school learning, access to networks, and luck. Additionally parents could add other factors.

interests and about which the parents have no experience and feel that they cannot provide assistance. This support was less mentioned by parents from the precarious fraction because they have more limited access to these networks and contacts. Rather, they stated that family support had the most important role to play in terms of the parents' commitment to giving their children different and good opportunities for education but also their presence and encouragement. Although this support was mentioned by both groups of parents, it was specially stressed by parents from the precarious RMC group. In several cases they mentioned that they had lacked this in their own family experiences. Additionally, parents consider that nowadays the lack of family support could put children in situations of risk that they want to avoid.

The value of education at present. What type of education are we talking about?

- *Breaking away from the state system and the attractiveness of private schools*

For the mothers and fathers interviewed it is clear that it is not just any type of education that can satisfy their current aspirations and make this desirable path to the future possible. As Ball (1997: 16) affirms "schooling, of certain sorts, is an effective means of storing value for future realization". For both groups of parents only private education seems to fulfil this expectation, they have sought to break away from the state system of which they were traditional users. In contrast to the upper middle and upper classes, where continuity as a practice that sustains the past is expressed in the selection of the same schools from one generation to the next enabling them to maintain the family status achieved (Tiramonti and Ziegler 2008); in the case of these rising middle class families it is more the break with the family tradition of state schooling (which parents and grandparents went through) and the new option of private education that appears as a reconversion strategy to maintain class stability or provide the chance of some upward mobility. Similarly to what Ball (2003) found for a group of middle-class parents in England, Peruvian RMC parents interviewed from both fractions chose private schools "precisely and simply because they are not state schools, because they are different and separate from state sector schools. State schools are the unacceptable 'other', wrong for their child, by definition unable to deliver or ensure their aspirations" (Ball 2003:56).

Although there is a complex, subtle and entrenched group of reasons and dispositions that explain this option of the Peruvian RMC (which will be analyzed throughout this chapter), in this section two of them will be mentioned. As Reay and Ball (1997) point out, parents'

choice is powerfully influenced by their own experiences of schooling. In the case of the Peruvian RMC parents interviewed, most of them attended state schools and their experiences have led them to reject the idea of exposing their children to a similar kind of 'poor quality' education¹²³. Given that the situation of state schooling has not substantially changed lately, parents expressed serious mistrust in the capacity and willingness of the State to provide good quality education. There is strong stigmatization of the state school. In consequence, most of the parents' responses were very categorical in their rejection of state school as an alternative for their children's education as is expressed in the next categorical response:

*"In: Have you considered any state school as alternative for your children education?
A state school for my son? No way, absolutely not!!... You do not learn anything there! I remember teachers covering all the blackboards with information that even they didn't understand..."
(Mrs. Escobal, School A)*

Thus, the choice for the families interviewed basically included private options; state schools were not considered an alternative, except for a few cases from the precarious group. In relation to this Vergara (2013:48) is very categorical when affirming "each time someone climbs the social ladder, no matter how small the progress, he immediately leaves the state school and goes to a private one." Within Bourdieu's theoretical approach, choice is circumscribed by an internatized framework which makes some possibilities inconceivable, others improbable and a limited range acceptable (Reay 2004). State school seems work as an inconceivable option for the parents interviewed. For them the private sector carries with it systematic advantages, of exclusivity and material superiority, which by definition cannot be matched by state sector schools. Even when the reality of private school offer is very heterogeneous in terms of quality¹²⁴, in the parents' social imaginaries the idea of "private is good" prevails (this will be close examined in the section 5.4). Only a few parents critically voice their recognition of how people are 'captured by the discourse' of consumption¹²⁵ attributing mainly aspirational logic to school choice as the following quotation illustrates:

"The common Peruvian thinks that when something is more expensive it is better. We always measure: 'this is expensive, so this is good'. Usually we are not concerned about finding out whether it is really good or not. If you ask

¹²³ This is consistent with findings from other studies where the parents' past education experiences in state and private schools predicted some choice behavior (Henig 1990, Bulman 1999 cited by Hamilton and Guin 2005)

¹²⁴ A table with the different circuits of schooling in the Peruvian Educational System is included in the Background Chapter (see table 2)

¹²⁵ This term is used by Bowe et al. (1994)

parents of School X - which is the most expensive here [locality] - why their children are there, they don't know! They just feel proud to say 'my child is in this expensive school' Quality is not an issue!" (Father, School B)

5.2 The complex process of choosing. Being newcomers in the market¹²⁶

Before analyzing the rational and culturalist perspectives for school choice, in this section it is stressed that the context in which parents have made their choice is new, considering that both groups of RMC parents are 'newcomers' in the private school system. As Ball et al. (1996:102) state "their biographies and family histories have not provided them with the experiences or inside knowledge of the school system and the social contacts and cultural skills to pursue their inclination to choice 'effectively'". Despite this, both groups of parents have a strong preference for the private system, although the capacity, strategies and availability of resources for their choice are different. Thus, while the consolidated group of parents chose one of the top schools among the circuits of schools for consolidated emerging sectors, the precarious group chose a standard school among the circuits of 'low cost' schools (see Appendix A).

The group of consolidated RMC parents mentioned the use of different strategies to manage unfamiliar practices such as looking for and choosing schools. This included visiting different schools until finding the 'best' school for their child, using different sources to find information such as the internet, media advertising, promotional talks in schools, direct talks with promoter/owner of schools, and talks with friends, colleagues and extended family about different school offers¹²⁷. Some parents who seem to lack confidence in their own judgment appear to be more dependent on others, asking for expert opinions in order to take a final decision:

"We wanted an expert's opinion, so we asked the head teacher of the nursery which our son was at about visiting the two schools that we had chosen to know her opinion. We were interested to know if, in her opinion, these schools were good and our son would continue to make progress in his learning."
(Mother, School A)

¹²⁶ The term 'newcomers' is used by Ball et al. (1996) as part of their categorization of three ideal-types of school chooser identified within their data set. I found this categorization useful as a reference in the present study. "The ideal-types display a clear (though not definitive) social class relation. That is to say, certain class groups are clustered within each of the ideal-types. Thus, almost without exception the disconnected choosers are working class; the privileged/skilled choosers are almost exclusively professional, middle class ('inheritors'); but the semi-skilled choosers tend to be from a variety of class backgrounds ('newcomers')" (Ball et al. 1996:93)

¹²⁷ In a social sector characterized by consumption as a sign of distinction It is worth noting that several parents from the consolidated group found information about the schools in stands located in shopping malls

They have attempted to deal with the constraints imposed by their basic lack of familiarity with particular aspects of schools and schooling, and the imbalance between their economic, social and cultural capital, by different means aiming at an effective and strategic process of school choice. They have adopted an active and empowered position in their exercise of school choice that contrasts with what Bourdieu (1986) calls 'cultural docility' (a reactive response to events more than a proactive and demanding engagement). Although it will be analyzed later, this could be related to the awareness of their social value as entrepreneurial people that have got ahead in life under their own steam, that have had the capacity to 'get by', and this serves the parents in selecting forms of conduct that provide them with a distinct sense of place as newcomers. However, in contrast with 'skilled choosers' for whom choosing a school often emerges as "a confusing and complex process given the interplay of unclear or contradictory social principles, of diverse aspirations, desires and concerns related to their children, and of multiple sources of impression and perception" (Ball et al. 1996: 94); for the consolidated RMC group of parents the process was simpler and more direct. They used different criteria for their process of evaluation and choice and did not display the same degrees of complexity and paradoxicality as skilled choosers.

In the case of the precarious RMC group of parents the choice-making process was more limited in scope, less strategic, with more limited resources and a poorer informational base than the consolidated group. However, in any case these parents could be considered 'disconnected' parents in the process of school choice when they expressed their concern and involvement in it. In relation to the scope, their search for a school (and therefore choice) was limited to schools in close physical proximity to their home. There was little or no attempt to collect information about other schools apart from those in the immediate area. Moreover, the distance from the home and the practicalities of travel imposed definite limits on the realities of choosing. Factors like facilities, distance, safety, convenience were of prime concern involving undertones of what Bourdieu calls 'the choice of necessity'. Finally, in their search for a safe and welcoming place for their children, trust relations and personal recommendations were definitive in their decision (all these criteria will be more extensively analyzed in the next section)

5.3 Rational criteria in the choice of schools

Contrary to what is stated in part of the literature and the opinions of some academics regarding the educational expectations of the RMC, which are characterized as having

minimalist and instrumental demands, and where schools fulfil a mainly 'credentialist' function (Toche 2009, Benavides 2012 (*pers. comm.*) 22 August 2012); what I found in the discourse of the parents interviewed was the use of a wide variety of criteria that are submitted to calculative evaluations in the process of making choices. Parents from different RMC fractions expect and value different aspects from the school. However, they give different importance to each one and they also differ in their process of evaluation.

The broad list includes aspects that reflect: i. Different conditions that parents expect and demand from the schools. Although good infrastructure and equipment are characteristics that impress, RMC parents are also concerned about the intrinsic worth of certain educational opportunities. These refer to experiences such as bilingual education, teaching methods, the promotion of leadership, and personalised attention for their children; ii. Clear and relative constraints for choosing a school (eg. cost and distance from the home respectively); iii. Strong rejection of some undesirable characteristics that prevail in the educational market such as highly demanding schools; iv. The attractiveness of the possibility of having a say and intervening that private schools involve. These aspects regularly cropped up in interviews as comparative criteria both with reference to private schools as well as between the private and state option.

Cost affordable by family income

One of the key factors that determines the possibility of school choice for families is clearly the cost. Parents recognize that choosing a school is mediated by the family budget and they look for alternatives that they are able to afford: *"Although we don't want to accept it, private education depends on the families' purchasing power"* (Father, School A). As Reay et al. (2001:861) point out "cost plays a major role in differentiating the possible from the impossible in school choice". In the case of the consolidated RMC parents interviewed they have chosen one of the most expensive private schools in Los Olivos district. This distinguishes them from other families who have 'opted' for cheaper kinds of schools within their circuits of schooling for consolidated emerging sectors (see table 2 in the Background Chapter). In the case of the precarious RMC parents interviewed they have chosen within the circuits of 'low cost' schools an intermediate alternative with fees equivalent to \$50 per month¹²⁸. This fee is slightly higher than the average within their locality. However, if these costs are compared with other circuits of private schools in upper and upper middle class districts, we find a considerable gap. While the RMC parents interviewed pay fees equivalent

¹²⁸ Fees for 'low cost' schools range between \$30 and \$95 per month

to \$140 per month, in upper and middle class districts the range of fees for private schools is between \$400 and \$1070 and \$225 - \$400 respectively.

Good infrastructure, equipment & cleanliness

Parents appreciate school infrastructure and equipment that are in good condition because, in general, these basic facilities are much neglected in most schools in their circuit of schooling. As a result of a deregulated market it is very common to find family houses converted into schools without consideration to minimal conditions of infrastructure, equipment and cleanliness. Both groups of parents interviewed have chosen schools that offer better infrastructure conditions than the average within their circuits of schooling. However, the difference between the infrastructure and equipment in school A and school B is considerable (see Appendix A). It is worth noting that a good or impressive infrastructure in the particular educational market for the RMC, more than providing sophisticated conditions, offers basic material conditions in order to study. This is especially true in the case of the precarious RMC group as some parents state:

“Here (in this school) students have individual desks, the classrooms have good lighting, the students are not placed in dark basements where they are cooped up, the bathrooms are clean and most importantly, the school has a playground and a schoolyard! The students don’t have to go outside to do sports, which is very dangerous!” (Mother, School B)

“Normally in this area there aren’t any schools that have been designed to function as such; they’re usually houses that have been converted into schools, but this was a school!” (Mrs. Benites, School A)

In the case of the group of consolidated RMC parents interviewed, the infrastructure of the school chosen contrasts significantly with the majority of schools in the district, offering the best option (in fact good infrastructure is one of the distinctive characteristics that this kind of network school offers). It is worth to notice that the access to a school with these infrastructure conditions also represents an aspirational logic how it is clearly expressed by this mother:

“When my husband saw this impressive school building he told me ‘one day my son will study here, checking the enrollment requirements’ (Mother, School A)

Closeness to school

Here, there is an important difference between the two groups of parents interviewed. While for the precarious RMC group the closeness of the school is a determining choice criterion, for the consolidated RMC group distance and locality are not the only significant factors in choice but are interwoven with other factors. As Ball et al. (1995:62) point out, “there is a trade off between these and other concerns”. While all the families interviewed from the first group live near the school, the majority of families from the second group live in districts close to the school¹²⁹, a third of them live in the same district and ten percent live in distant districts.

For families who search for schools in close physical proximity to their home and that are part of the social community, this mainly responds to the primacy of a technical logic and pragmatic accommodation (in order to maintain the support of grandparents and relatives who take and pick up their children from the school, the facilities for lunchtime or to avoid public transportation). Lifestyles remain largely organised around the “practical order” and ‘choice’ of school fits into the practicalities of ‘getting by’ (Bourdieu 1986a). In the case of the consolidated RMC group of parents, their choice fits into some grander social agenda of ‘new, rarer and more distinct goods’ (Bourdieu 1986a:247). The position of both groups of parents was clearer when they were asked about a scenario in which they had the means to pay for a school that was better but far from home. While the precarious RMC group preferred to keep their children in a lower quality school but closer to home, the consolidated RMC group of parents was more willing to move their children to a better school despite the distance.

Concern about children’s wellbeing: The value of a safe and warm environment

A relevant concern of RMC parents’ choice is to find a safe and warm environment at the school. Both groups of parents mentioned that they looked for schools where their children will do well, feel comfortable and be happy. As Ball et al (1996:94) argue “the role of the affective, of ethos, atmosphere, ‘feel’, impression, sense, and climate is absolutely fundamental to choice”. For the consolidated RMC group of parents this means that their children receive personalised attention in a warm and family atmosphere, and appreciated gestures such as teachers and staff calling their children by their names, or recognizing them individually and thus contributing to making them feel comfortable:

¹²⁹ Their children have to use public or private transportation to go to school

*“Paying a private school is a sacrifice for us (parents), but I think that I am not wasting my money when I see that my son is learning, but above all he is happy doing things that he really likes”
(Mrs. Escobal, School A)*

For the precarious RMC group of parents, however, the notion of their children’s wellbeing is more related to finding a “safe” place for them. This means finding teachers that can be trusted to leave their children with, such as this mother states *“I can go to work knowing that my daughter is in good hands”* (Mother, school B). This group of parents is especially sensitive to maltreatment and child abuse situations that are reported by the media or rumours about schools. These situations especially but not exclusively, affect state schools. In consequence, trust relations with the school’s owner, the head teacher and/or teachers, or the trust they inspire in parents are essential and provide the crucial factor in clinching the final choice, or in eliminating a final alternative. Most parents interviewed in this group had some kind of relationship (family or friendship) or had received good reports about the school’s owner and head teacher.

Usually this concern about the ‘happiness’ of their children in the parents’ approach to choice of schools is interpreted as working class short-terminism, as opposed to the deferred gratification of the middle-classes (Ball et al. 1995). However, in the case of the Peruvian RMC this concern could be reflecting middle-class trends about feeling ‘at home’ in the school, an experience that previous RMC generations (parents and grandparents) had never had. Moreover, it is interesting to notice that this search for what the parents broadly call “being happy” is also present in the Peruvian upper class parents’ approach to choice of schools¹³⁰.

Educational concerns

Beyond the realm of material and affective matters, the parents interviewed also showed more educationally specific priorities in their process of school choosing. The parents from the consolidated RMC group mentioned a greater range of both varied and specific aspects, while parents from the precarious RMC group mainly focused on class size and some

¹³⁰ Recently, a well-known Peruvian educator, Leon Trahtemberg, interviewed almost 300 sets of upper class parents as part of the selection process for entry of their children to a new and exclusive private school in Lima. Trahtemberg points out that he was greatly surprised by one of the repeated descriptions the parents gave of the school they wanted for their children “a place where the children’s self-esteem and inner security are developed, as well as their motivation, affections, social abilities, creativity, independent reasoning, and something they broadly call “being happy” (Trahtemberg 2013).

general references to teaching methods. The most recurring aspects that parents indicate as constituting attractive educational proposals for their choice of school are:

- Class size

Both groups of parents consider that few students per class means that they can get more individual attention (teacher's time and attention). This criterion is often used to make comparisons with state schools, which in the parents' view have overcrowded classrooms. However, they also indicate that small class size is not a sufficient condition as there are schools which, in spite of having few students per class, are not good in reference to the kind of 'garage' schools that are widespread in the district (see table 2 Circuits of Private Schools in Lima).

- Teaching methods

Both groups of parents express enthusiasm about the use of more fun and active learning methodologies in the school in comparison with the 'boring and passive methodologies' that they experienced in state schools. They are also very sensitive to the idea of respecting the student's learning pace which is not the case in some educational proposals that prevail in the educational market:

"A neighbor told me [in relation to the school that she had chosen for her daughter] 'people say that in your child's school students don't make progress'. I replied, Ok if you want your little daughter to be doing homework and tests all the time, and being stressed don't put her in 'my' school. There, children learn by playing, full of fun and according to their age. Teachers don't expect children in first grade to learn subjects which correspond to second or third grade..."
(Mother, School A)

In this sense, the parents interviewed, especially from school A, strongly rejected the proposals of the kind of 'pre-university' schools, where children are subjected to strong pressure in terms of a heavy homework load, extra testing, and where they have to learn subjects and skills that correspond to more advanced grades. The parents commented that as a result of this their children are continuously stressed and anxious (and the parents too). They question the education model that these schools promote, which mainly focuses on accumulating information (in contrast with an integral view), and whether the highly demanding conditions under which students work really lead to their children achieving better or more important learning.

- Bilingual education (English/Spanish)

This was only mentioned by parents from School A who state that there isn't any other school that offers bilingual education in the circuits of schooling that they can access. This school characteristic is highly valued by parents because they recognize the importance of being fluent in English in order to increase their children's opportunities in the future. They appreciate the progress their children have made in learning English without having to pay the additional cost of a language institute.

- Curriculum

This aspect was also only mentioned by a few parents from school A as other relevant criterion for their decision. They said that in the curriculum of the school they had chosen they found similar contents to other schools considered more prestigious. Likewise, parents value the use of a school curriculum that not only follows the national curriculum, but that taking the latter as a reference includes other contents that are being worked on in more developed countries.

"When I was searching for schools and I found School A, my sister told me, do you know what? Let's look on the internet. And we started to read about everything the school offered. My sister said to me, look, the curriculum has lots of things that my daughter is also taught [the girl is at a more prestigious school], so take the risk!" (Mrs. Rojas. School A)

- Personal and social development

Other personal aspects that parents from the consolidated RMC group appreciate is that the school promotes the development of leadership and self-confidence in their students because they believe that both aspects contribute significantly to the students' social development, and this will constitute a comparative advantage in the labour market in the future. In this way, parents expect their children to be challenged in relation to these personal and social abilities:

"At the previous school my daughter was at they always congratulated me because she was very serious, very quiet. I come here (School A) and the teacher says she wants to talk to me about my daughter. I went to the meeting expecting to be congratulated, but the teacher said to me "Mrs. Miranda, your daughter is too quiet, we have to help her be more outgoing". At first I was surprised but then I realized that my daughter was too obedient [laughter]. Here, at School A she has learnt to be more outgoing" (Mrs. Miranda, School A)

Other aspects also mentioned by parents from the consolidated RMC group that led them to choose School A were the experiences of team work and the discipline it offers.

The possibility of having a say and intervening

In the parents' discourse the fact that they are paying for their children's education means that they can ensure that they are in actual fact receiving the service offered (mentioned by School A parents), or can avoid bad practices such as child abuse or maltreatment (*"these don't happen in private schools because parents complain!"* Mother, School B). They also consider that paying for their children's education gives them the right and the possibility to intervene effectively to request changes or improvements. This differs from what happens in state education where, according to the parents, no one is really responsible nor does anyone have the capacity to take effective decisions, and where complaining is therefore a waste of time:

"It gives me the impression that when you say to a father 'you have to pay an amount of money for your children's education', he feels 'um I am paying for that so I have to see if the education that my children are receiving effectively corresponds to what I am paying'...." (Mr. Escobal, school A)

"In private schools it is possible to have a say regarding some aspects that in state schools I just have to accept: bad quality of teachers, high heterogeneity of families, bad or limited infrastructure..." (Mr. Miranda, School A)

In practice, both groups of parents interviewed referred that they known and made use of different means and spaces in the school to express their voice (eg. requesting meetings with teachers or head teachers, attending committee meetings). In general, they commented that they are satisfied that their concerns are effectively addressed.

Conclusion. Taking into account a rational approach to school choice, different criteria have been put in balance by parents in order to maximize benefits. A first aspect that clearly emerges in the processes of school choice in these two Peruvian RMC fractions is that choice is a mark of economic privilege. School choice is mainly mediated by the families' purchasing power that determines which circuit of schooling their children can access within a very stratified education system: new 'network' schools for the consolidated RMC group and 'low-cost' schools for the precarious RMC group. Regarding this first restriction, both groups of RMC parents have shown a strong inclination to choose despite being newcomers in the market. Despite having moved into a new and unfamiliar position, the private education market, they have used different criteria and strategies when searching for and

choosing schools, but the scope, priorities, and availability of resources (material, cultural and social) have been different for the two fractions.

For the precarious RMC group the criteria that prevail in their school choice are mainly based on seeking better conditions than those offered by state schools (i.e. good material conditions, a safe place for their children (physical and affective), and small class size), and not change the way both family life and the practical business of getting by are organized. In this case, as Ball et al. (1996) and Lauder et al. (1999) point out, spatial horizons, time and the practicalities of travel impose definite limits upon the 'realities' of choosing. Here what still prevails is that which Bourdieu calls 'the choice of necessity' that usually characterizes the working class.

In the case of the consolidated RMC group their expectations are higher and more varied. Given the fact that they see their children's education as an investment good and have greater financial means to pursue their inclination to choice effectively, they are more concerned about seeking a school that provides a variety of opportunities so that their children may be better prepared for that future. This explains the importance given not only to the school's material conditions and affective atmosphere, but also to different aspects more directly related to educational processes and the development of skills which will make their children more competitive (curriculum, bilingual education, development of social and team-work abilities). However, although the rational processes governing school choice in this consolidated RMC group include different criteria and not only those aspects which tend to be most obviously impressive, it is also true that they do not carry out an in-depth exploration of what the school offers. Complexity is often reduced and schools are portrayed in terms of general qualities – positive and negative. As Ball et al. (1996:102) found there is an appearance of certainty in the judgements being made but frequently this is derived from a limited informational base.

5.4 Dispositions, practical sense and inventions of habitus in parents' school choice

As Ball (2003:59) affirms "logic and taste are interwoven in school choice". In conjunction with the criteria given in the section above, the parents' discourse also expressed strong emotional and cultural dimensions related to this social practice, in some cases influenced by the interplay of values and principles. These dimensions speak of the features of class identification and differentiation of this group of RMC parents, their effort to establish the boundaries of the 'we', their strategies of social closure, matters of disposition (habitus) and

taste (Bourdieu 1986a). They are also related to status and exclusivity in the process of educational choice where school is considered a positional good in their trajectory of ascendant social mobility. This section examines the most significant aspects of the parents' discourse and highlights how these are influenced by their social mobility process. Additionally, similarities and differences found between the two RMC fractions are mentioned and discussed.

Looking for a 'better' school and the 'best' school. Different parents' aspirations

In general, RMC parents consider that it is their responsibility (and wish) to offer their children better or 'the best' opportunities recognizing that in their current socio-economic position they are able to do so. This becomes especially relevant when choosing a school, and seems to be related to their conception of good parenting as is expressed by Mr. Quispe (School A) *"because now we have the opportunity and resources, we have to look for and to offer the best to our children"*. However, an important difference between the parents' discourse in the two RMC fractions is that while the consolidated group mentioned that they were looking for and choosing "the best" school for their children, the objective of the precarious group's parents was more modest. They were basically searching for a better alternative to that offered by state education: *"when you take your children out of a state school you expect an added benefit, you expect something better"* (Father, School B). The current configuration of economic, social and cultural resources determines the aspirational possibilities of each RMC fraction in the educational field. This is reinforced by a highly stratified Peruvian educational system that offers different circuits of schooling according to the families' socio-economic status. An interesting contrast of both kind of discourses is expressed in these two statements:

"Children come already educated from home, but the school gives them the perfect finish. We must seek the best artisan, who can make the best gem out of what we are giving him. That's what I look for in a school"
(Mr. Falcon, School A)

"My daughter was first in a private school and then I changed her to a state one and I saw the difference. There was a decrease from 100% to 20% in her learning process in the state school. Then, I decided that my daughter had the right to receive something better in a private school where she could really have a chance"
(Mother, School B)

These discourses reflect different levels of aspiration in relation to the schools for their children. While the first father wants, metaphorically speaking, to find the best artist for his jewels (children), the second mother wants, at least, to provide a chance for her daughter

that the state school is not able to give her. Despite the differences between both groups, in neither of the two was the match with the school associated to particular characteristics of their children (to suit their particular proclivities and/or personality). This was associated to more “generalized concerns and aspirations related to their children, to more immediate concerns about their child’s happiness or ability to cope or flourish at school (Coldron 1991) and to more general future possibilities” (Ball et al. 1996:94). However, in both cases the concerns and aspirations involved in the process of school choice for their children differs noticeably from the few opportunities that they (second generation) had as children. This would constitute a mark of social position in their process of social ascendant mobility. As Skeggs (2004:46) argues “individuals contain within themselves their past and present position in the social structure in the forms of dispositions which are so many marks of social position”.

Establishing boundaries for the ‘we’:

Sense of mutuality or class identification and differentiation

Complementary to the expectations of a school that corresponds to their new status (expressed in their search for a ‘better’ or the ‘best’ school), the dedication to finding locations in which there are other people ‘like us’ also appeared as a relevant criterion for choosing especially, but not only, for the consolidated RMC fraction. As Ball (2003:59) stresses “it is not only the school and its staff that are subject to scrutiny but also the families that belong to it”. This is clearly expressed by a School A Mother *“the school you have chosen is more or less similar to the one chosen by families like your own” (Mrs. Benites)*. In this way, the parents interviewed mentioned different elements of identification and differentiation in their processes of choosing a school. They account for the dual element that characterizes these small acts of closure: on the one hand, the recognition of others ‘like us’, a ‘class-attributive judgement’ (Bourdieu 1986a:473); and on the other hand, the sense of being different from ‘others’ not ‘like us’, the social groups from which they wish to be separated. In this perspective, both RMC parents’ fractions clearly differentiate themselves from families that send their children to state schools, they represent ‘the others’ with which they do not wish to be associated. This makes possible for RMC parents to avoid both ‘the poor’ and those kind of educational provision associated with lower status (that is, avoid stigmatised forms of education). However, the consolidated RMC fraction recognizes a greater variety of class-attributive characteristics of others ‘like us’ that are not present in the discourse of the precarious RMC group.

- *Looking for people 'like us'*

The parents mainly mentioned two distinctive practices and characteristics of the families that belong to the school chosen. These are what define people 'like them'. The first practice is shared by both RMC fractions and refers to the strong commitment and is related to the parental involvement in education. The second refers to the entrepreneurial spirit that characterizes these families, and to which parents mainly attribute their successful histories. This strongly influences their expectations in relation to the school and is mainly expressed by the consolidated group.

- o *Concerned parents, committed and actively involved in their children's education*

This concern, commitment and active involvement in their children's education is expressed, in the first place, in paying for their education. However, this goes beyond simply paying. It means that parents are fully involved with school activities and monitor the progress of their children in the school¹³¹. Many parents describe this kind of commitment as a feature that distinguishes them from other families that leave their children by themselves and are not concerned with supporting them. This leads parents to recognize a sense of 'we' as is clearly expressed by these parents from school A:

"I have noticed that most parents in this school have the same objective of 'investing in our children's education', we have established the same goal ... and because we are very concerned about our children we are really involved in their education, in the school" (Mother, School A)

"Parents have a lot in common...we want our children be the best, that they not only learn about values but they practice them...in others [parents] I found conformism, they think they have to leave their children alone because they will find their future by themselves" (Father, School A)

As Ball (2003:59) states, all these common concerns and expectations give them 'a sense of their place'. By contrast, for both group of parents, the 'others', that is, the group of families unconcerned with their children's education, is mainly represented by parents who send their children to state schools: *"I've noticed that the parents whose children are at state schools don't devote time to their children, they don't spend time with them. Because they have to work they often neglect them" (Mother, School B)*. For the consolidated RMC group, this lack of concern also includes some families at the school they have chosen. These are mentioned as exceptions:

¹³¹ In coherence with Kahne (1996:99) who suggests that "parents currently choosing to pay for their children's education probably paid more emphasis to education than otherwise similar parents who use a neighbourhood school".

“We are not those kinds of parents who are mainly concerned about their business and professional development. They ‘deposit’ their children in the best school and are never involved in their school activities...” (Father, School A)

As Ball et al. (1996:97) state, these responses, as socially differentiated dispositions, “are modes of distinction and classification (and via their operation serve to reproduce oppositions and associations between classes and schools)”.

Different reasons explain this differentiated parents’ disposition to be close and active in their children’s education. They are closely related to the habitus formation process which will be extensively discussed in the next chapter. However, I will start to mention some relevant aspects in this section. Before analysing them, it is worth noting that this strong involvement in their children’s education is mainly left to the mothers¹³². They are in charge of caring for their children, which includes being involved in how the school is run. Similar to Reay’s (1997) finding, this embraces: speak regularly to the class teacher, support with homework, talk with other parents, and supplement the school with after-school activities. In the Peruvian case, mothers’ dedication to their children is exclusive or shared with occasional, part-time or full-time jobs. In any case, for most parents it is clear that it is the mother’s priority to see how their children are getting on at school. It appears that for this emerging sector the investment in private education for children is such a ‘package’ that includes not only paying for a private school but also the close dedication of the mothers although this means sacrificing (or temporarily sacrificing) their professional careers, their work productivity and, in consequence, the family income.

The first reason for the mothers’ close involvement in their children’s education mentioned by the parents is related to experiences they went through and do not want to repeat with their children. Parents state that they do not want to repeat the same pattern of upbringing that they experienced in which they did not benefit from the presence of their own parents because they were totally devoted to their businesses, their work or to bringing up a large number of children. Although they acknowledge and value the effort their parents made to try and ensure a better future for them, they also consider that their situation has changed and they seek to give their children what they did not have. This is shared by both groups of RMC parents:

“Because his mum worked hard I can see that he [referring to her husband] wants his children to have a mum around. I always had my mum close by, and although she didn’t help me with my homework I knew that my mum was at home

¹³² Although gender is not a line of analysis in this research the forcefulness of this gendered finding deserves to be mentioned.

to help me (...) So now that I have finished studying my career and can work, it's clear to me that if I work it's going to be in the mornings while they're at school, I'm not going to work in the afternoons. If I don't find a job that enables me to do that, I won't work. That's what we're sure about, isn't it?" (Mother, School B)

My parents worked a lot for the prosperity of their business, I really appreciate that but we had very restricted family spaces. We (she and her husband) don't want to repeat that model. That is why I dedicate myself to the upbringing of my children" (Mother, School A)

The parents also mentioned that the mothers' close presence in education and other activities ensure a safer environment for their children because the places, situations and conditions in which they live are somewhat unsafe. Moreover, few of them also recognize that the mothers' more active presence reinforces or strengthens the learning and progress their children make at school (in reference to the influence of the family's cultural capital in learning and peer effects). At this point the comparison with state schools parents emerges again: *"Parents [from state schools] don't help their children with their homework and so the academic level cannot improve. When the children are neglected the teacher can't do her job well. There are many cases like this at state schools."* (Mother, school B). Thus, as Ball (2003:177) notices "a great deal of the work of class and of social reproduction within the family is heavily gendered".

- *School for enterprising people. The complementarity between family habitus and school habitus*

Another important class-attributive feature that was often and almost exclusively mentioned by the consolidated RMC group of parents was the correspondence of school with the entrepreneurial spirit that characterizes people 'like them'. In this way, parents value the fact that the school chosen is aimed at enterprising people as Mrs. Llerena expresses:

"Here [in the chosen school] there is the opportunity to have an education for entrepreneurial people, people who have been poor and that thanks to their profession or that they have set up a business have been able to emerge...thanks to education they have achieved a little more. So those people, I want to say we, we want that our children to have better opportunities. And I'm glad I found a school with an educational proposal from which our children could really benefit. Then we want to invest in it, don't we? (Mrs Llerena, School A)

This acknowledgement of an enterprising spirit as a positive identity mark of RMC seems to make them deserve a particular kind of school that matches their 'new status' as rising middle class and that is very different to that which their parents experienced. Furthermore, they expect the experience of schooling to enable their children to develop or strengthen

entrepreneurial skills and attitudes¹³³. Parents may be said to be seeking a match, a sort of alignment between the family/class habitus and the school habitus in relation to entrepreneurialism:

“At school children need an environment that allows them to develop the fundamental characteristics that they see in their parents, as examples that they can follow: effort, work, commitment, responsibility. These are things that cannot easily be taught, aren’t they?...they are learnt through experience”
(Mr. Miranda, School A)

As Ball (2003:59) suggests “these familiar settings are ones in which family and school habitus complement each other”. Additionally, in this kind of complementarity parents consider that school constitutes a space where children can acquire specialized knowledge and form networks, which, together with an enterprising spirit form, let’s say, an attractive ‘equation’ that will make their trajectories easier as is expressed by Mrs Llerena:

“So that the entrepreneur is able to do things well, he/she needs to have tools. Then, if the entrepreneur is not so well-educated he/she will make mistakes and will have a lot of stress. But if he/she is an educated person and has this spirit to move forward then both aspects strengthen each other. Because when you make a mistake you lose a lot of time, but with the tools that education gives you, it’s possible to move faster” (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

It is interesting to note that this enterprising spirit reflects both the positive view that RMC parents have of themselves as a social group as well as the awareness of their social value. As Reay and Ball (1997) suggest, this collective sense of their own social worth influences their school choice process. For the group of RMC parents interviewed, despite their poor state schooling experiences and that they are ‘newcomers’ in the private system, which could lead them to patterns of education choice characterized by “ambivalence, and appear to be as much about the avoidance of anxiety, failure and rejection” (Ball et al. 1996:102), this not occur. On the contrary, they are very active, clear and determined to find the ‘best’ school for their children, the school that they deserve as enterprising people as well as an education that is in line with and reinforces their class or collective identity. These patterns of choice are closer to middle-class tends about feeling ‘at home’ in education found by Ball et al. (1996).

¹³³ It is worth noticing that as Garcia (2006:145) suggests, this vision of the entrepreneurialism mainly refers “to internal factors of the individual from which depend its development such as the motivation to embark on successful economic activities through instilling individual initiative, the cult of personal effort and the struggle against adversity, disregarding all social determinism”

- *Avoiding 'the others': Social closure strategies*

Although the sense of mutuality or class identification analysed in the previous section also entails a sense of differentiation, in this section the social closure strategies that have been detected are directly examined. As Ball (2003:53) explains, social closure refers to “the practice of preserving privilege by restricting other people’s access to resources and rewards”. It can take many forms, in this case I will analyze the search for an ‘adequate’ social mix as a social closure strategy among the RMC parents interviewed.

o *Searching for an adequate social mix*

Another aspect which shows identity and differentiation dynamics with which the families clearly construct their boundaries is the position they hold regarding the level of heterogeneity or social mix within the school. This was a more relevant issue among the consolidated RMC group of parents than for the precarious group. During the discussions it became evident that the parents had different viewpoints: Only few parents expressed directly and clearly their preference for not mixing as it is expressed by this mother:

*“I don’t want to mix. I know that I sound like a snob [she says it in a low voice and with an embarrassed smile] but I don’t want my son to mix with other children that haven’t been brought up with the principles I want for my son. So I’m not going to send him with the son of a criminal or a drug addict!
(Mrs. Chura, School A)*

However, for the majority of parents this gave rise to conflicts and contradictions especially in relation to their principles of equality and non-discrimination. On the one hand, parents considered it positive that the school could reflect the heterogeneity that characterizes the country as part of the preparation for life in a diverse society, rejecting discrimination¹³⁴. However, on the other hand, when they sought to establish what would be a ‘nice balance’ or ‘good mix’ the parents felt happier with the idea that there should be exceptional cases of heterogeneity rather than this being the rule, i.e. the presence of heterogeneity in small numbers, may be acceptable¹³⁵. They were especially sensitive to the inclusion of ‘rougher elements’ (as it is clearly expressed by Mrs. Chura). At this point in the discussion, once

¹³⁴ In this position the instrumental purpose of the social mix is clear for the future performance of their children in society. However, it is not clear that integration seeks to promote “healthy social interaction among students of different backgrounds, ultimately leading to a more tolerant and open-minded citizenry” (Gill 2005:131)

¹³⁵ This is consistent with the findings of different studies where parents prefer or choose schools with children of the same socio-economic status (Frankenberg et al. 2010, Saparito 2003, Buckley and Schneider 2002 i cited by Elacqua 2012)

again, state schools emerged in parents' discourse as a negative choice. They mentioned that a fundamental 'problem' with the state sector was precisely its heterogeneity because state schools are open to all students or in their words *"everybody sends their children to state schools"*. What they meant was that it is the 'wrong kind of heterogeneity' (Ball 2003:59) because "everybody" includes children from the poorest and the most-at-risk and socially excluded sectors in Peruvian society. Some parents' comments were very categorical and highly discriminatory in relation to families who send their children to state schools:

*"In: Under what conditions would state school be an attractive option for your children's education?
Even if everything improved in state schools and they had very good teachers, good infrastructure, good materials... the problem would still be the families who send their children there" (Mrs. Escobal, School A)*

*"In: And what about the emblematic schools¹³⁶? What do you think about these state schools?
Yeah, these schools have really improved recently, at least in their physical appearance. But you have students from risky neighborhoods there: junkies, burglars, bombers...so the school is too good for these kinds of people" (Mr. Llerena, School A)*

Similar to Bagley, Woods and Glatter's study (cited by Ball 2003), the parents interviewed said that the kinds of students attending was a major reason for rejecting a school as unsuitable for their child. Even as with any habitus, the interiorisation of a sense of not belonging to the state school is unconscious, beyond the reach of explicit formulation as expressed by a mother from School B when she tried to explain what she felt when they visited a state school in their process of school choice: *"One cannot judge children, but I don't know, it's difficult to explain but I couldn't imagine my son there, I can't see him at a state school!" (Mrs. Meza, School B).*

Finally, the conservatism of some families have been also evident in this discussion on the meaning of social mix when they consider (and hope) that most of the students should come from they call "well-established" families, alluding to the parents' marital status. Their children should mix with children who come from good homes:

"Our children come from 'good' families, that means parents not necessarily married but that they really constitute a family concerned about the education of their children" (Mr. Escobal, School A)

¹³⁶ Emblematic schools are currently considered the best-known and most prestigious state schools

"(...) at the other school I didn't like the social environment... the parents were not people with whom we would get together or socialize because I didn't see in them the same values that we have [In: for example?] Mmm There were couples who were not well constituted, who had extramarital relations to say the least... and what happen is that children repeat that they see at home, children are the reflection of their parents. Then we decided to take them out and look for a more decent school" (Mr. Falcon, School A)

- *The search for status and exclusivity*

Another way of class differentiation is the search for status and exclusivity through school choice. As Ball (1997:2) argues "aside from material advantages which might accrue from academic success, there are cultural profits to be gained in the form of social cachet when parents choose a school". In a similar vein Adnett and Davies (2002), from a rational approach, talk about education as a consumer good and refer to the immediate consumption benefits that education provides such as parents' satisfaction with the status accorded by the social standing of their children's school. Some of the RMC parents' statements directly supported this, especially in the case of the consolidated RMC group. As Benavides (2012 (pers. comm.) 22 August) affirms, for them "the school chosen represents to a greater or lesser extent a symbol of status and realization of their aspirational logic" that makes them feel that they are members of a group to which they wish to belong. They are able to afford the lifestyles of the middle class, manifested especially in being able to purchase private education for their kids. In the process, they become increasingly distinct from those members of the lower classes who are unable to afford private education or a specific kind of private education. Within a highly hierarchical education system status and exclusivity can be distinguished along the continuum between state schools and the most exclusive private schools including the different circuits of schooling that correspond with the social position of the families. Different forms of status and exclusivity are expressed in the following quotations from mothers from each school:

"Now, we have a certain status in this school, if we compare it with a state school for example" (Mr. Rojas, School B)

"When I meet with my colleagues from the University we also talk about our children's school. Each one says which school their children are at: 'My children are in Juan XXIII school, my children in [mention the name of other school], and I say my children are in School A, and that sounds OK! [laughs]. Of course this friend put her daughter there [in reference to a more expensive school] because they only have one daughter and both parents work... or my other friend who's business is doing very well and her son is at San Agustín School [a traditional and prestigious private middle class religious school]. Although they live in Villa María [an emerging district very far away from the school], their son goes to that school because it gives them cachet" (Mrs. Miranda, School A)

The sense of exclusivity in relation to the school chosen is also valued by the parents and makes them very sensitive to circumstances that may place this exclusivity at risk. It is expressed by a mother from School A: *"I hope that now that the school has become a network-school it does not turn into a common school"* (Mrs. Chura). The mother warns that an increase in the number of schools in the network, which implies mass use of the service, entails the risk of losing exclusivity and becoming a common school if it does not manage to maintain a certain level of quality (and exclusivity). Then, as Kosunen (2014:444) concludes "school are not only valued from an individual perspective but also from social and political considerations, that is their capacity to signal and reproduce status (Aspers 2009, Podolny 1993) and symbolic class boundaries (Lamont 1992)".

Conclusion. The choice of school includes many strong cultural dimensions that speak of the features of class identification and differentiation that parents bring into play. In the process of school choice RMC parents clearly define the group which they wish to belong to as well as the group with which they do not wish to be associated. This becomes especially relevant for social groups in transformation within a process of ascendant social mobility, as is the case of the RMC. However, while for the precarious RMC fraction the main differentiation is to distance themselves from the families who send their children to state schools (they represent 'the others'), the consolidated RMC fraction includes more class-attributive characteristics that define both who they currently are (and, therefore, who are people 'like us') as well as their expectations and aspirations in relation to the school. In this way they seek not only a better school option than the state one, but what they consider the 'best' school for their children; a school that is in line with and reinforces their class identity as entrepreneurial people; a school in which parents are truly concerned and actively involved in their children's education in order to improve their achievements; a school with a social mix mainly represented by people 'like them'; a school whose prestige provides them with status and exclusivity. All these determine a series of practices and habitus that account for a unity of style which is characteristic of this consolidated RMC fraction.

FOURTH PART

CHAPTER 6. THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF HABITUS FORMATION IN RELATION TO THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION SERVICES IN THE PERUVIAN RMC: LOOKING AT EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

The discussion in the previous chapter has tried to demonstrate how the school choice process is influenced by rational strategic considerations but also responds to deliberate class-organized practices that arise out of a 'field of inertia' (Connell 1983), a 'doing what people like us do' (Ball 2003), that is, as a consequence of a habitus or disposition. In this central chapter the objective is to understand how and why, over time, RMC parents have incorporated individual responsibility for the provision of education as a disposition [habitus]. The habitus formation process across RMC generations is examined using a dynamic approach. In accordance with the concept that habitus provides a method for simultaneously analysing 'the experience of social agents and... the objective structures which make this experience possible' (Bourdieu 1988: 782 cited by Reay 2004), the history of the RMC's habitus was reconstructed through the parents' narratives. Each set of parents interviewed (eight couples in total, four from each school) provided a 'history' of intergenerational educational trajectories. With regard to these trajectories it has been possible to identify common patterns and regularities in practices and preferences concerning education that emerged and prevailed in each generation. The dispositions or habitus that underlined them have been inferred and both practices and dispositions were put in dialogue with the salient characteristics of the educational system as well as the process of upward social mobility that prevailed in each RMC generation. This has allowed causal narratives to be established where the emergence of different dispositions has been related to the opportunities and constraints that each generation encountered.

The analysis of the habitus formation process is based on three important principles already explained in the theoretical and methodological chapters. The first considers Bourdieu's view of these dispositions, "which make up habitus, as the products of opportunities and constraints framing individuals' life experiences" (Reay 2004:433). In Bourdieu's words they

are “durably inculcated by the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions” (Bourdieu 1990b: 54). Regarding this principle, the experiences of schooling undergone by different generations of the RMC were analyzed considering specific opportunities, constraints and meanings of education in each generation and each RMC fraction producing causal narratives to understand the habitus formation process.

The second principle takes into account the idea of habitus as a complex interplay between past and present. As Reay (2004:434) explains, following Bourdieu, “a collective understanding of habitus is necessary in order to recognize that individuals contain within themselves their past and present position in the social structure ‘at all times and in all places, in the forms of dispositions which are so many marks of social position’ (Bourdieu 1990b:82))”. This principle is also related to the idea of habitus as a temporal and dynamic phenomenon which is particularly relevant in the case of a social class in an emerging process such as the RMC. From an intergenerational view, it is possible to recognize how the disposition for education has been continually re-structured through the RMC generations in correspondence with their process of class formation. In general terms, it is possible to recognize the following “evolution” of habitus in the Peruvian RMC:

Table 12. The "evolution" of habitus in RMC

Generation	Habitus	Class formation process
1st Generation	Disposition for education	Starting to emerge (migrants)
2nd Generation	Disposition for higher education	Transformation: Becoming RMC: social mobility
3rd Generation	Disposition for private education	Social reproduction and search for inclusion

In this evolution the analysis of processes of consciousness about the transformation of the habitus has been particularly relevant. These were present in the parents’ narratives when in their experiences, they confronted events that caused self-questioning because the lack of fit between their habitus and the new spheres of the educational field (for example, when they shifted from attending basic to higher education, or from state to private education). This led them to no longer have a clear ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu 1990a).

In relation to the collective understanding of habitus I have considered how habitus is differently formed according to each actor’s position in social space, that is, class habitus. In

the particular histories narrated by the sets of parents interviewed I have found 'socialised dispositions' which correspond to and distinguish each RMC fraction (consolidated and precarious). These are differentiated throughout this chapter although I have to recognize that the main trajectory analysed primarily represents the consolidated group. The evolution of the habitus in the precarious group tends to be one generation 'behind' the consolidated one. I have underscored how the different conditions that surrounded each fraction influenced this. Additionally, though I have paid close attention to the collective patterns, when 'individual' differences (that allude to the singularity of the habitus in any family) have appeared, these have been highlighted.

Finally, in order to understand how this disposition arises I have also considered another principle of Bourdieu's proposal which views the formation of habitus as "the different systems of dispositions that have been acquired by internalizing s determinate type of social and economic condition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 105) which are influenced by the broader context of the political and economic mentality that prevails and directs both government and citizen practices, in this case neoliberal practices. Given the relevance of this principle particularly for this social group I have dedicated the next chapter to analyzing it.

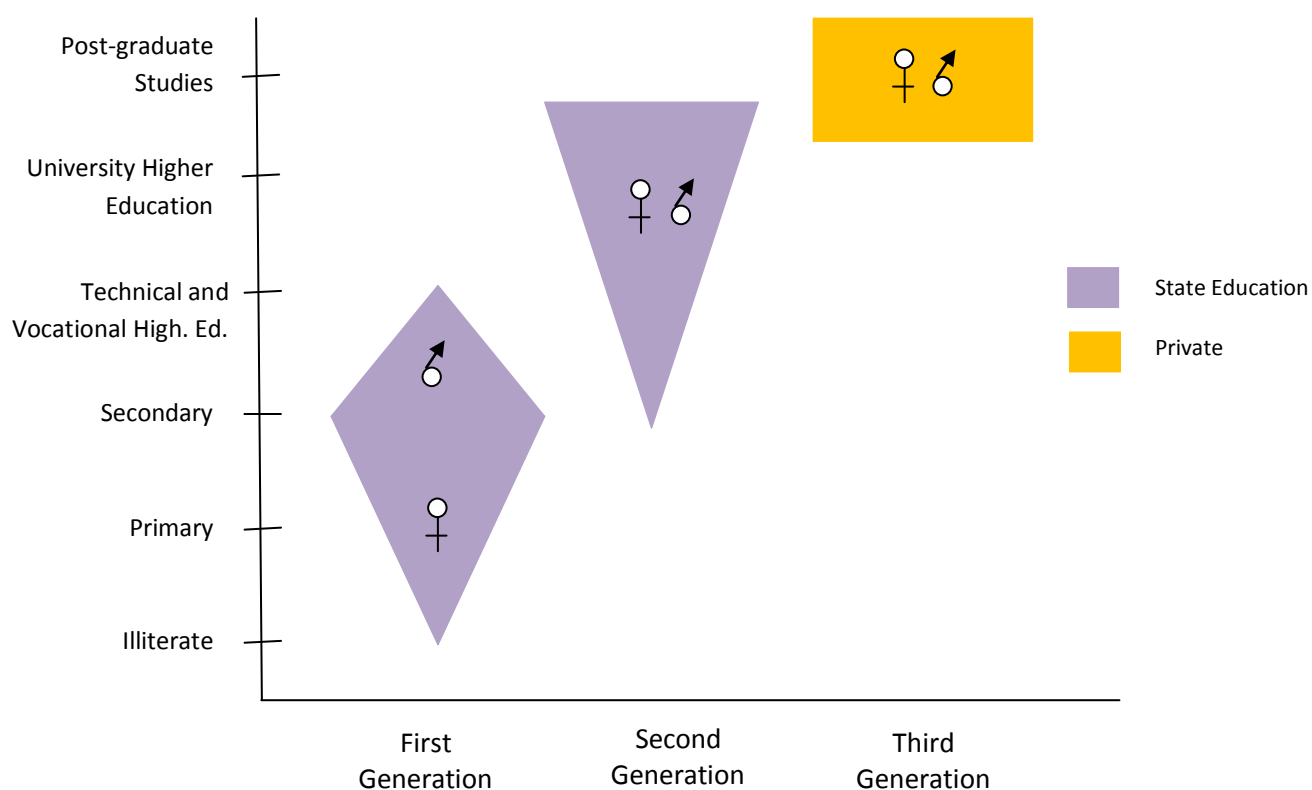
In the first part of this chapter evidence of educational mobility across generations is included using basic indicators such as educational achievement, level of education, careers and employment. This offers a clear view of the educational trajectory and mobility of the RMC group under study revealing, as is expected, different patterns and rate between both RMC fractions. The second part is divided in three sections each one focused on one RMC generation. Each section starts with a brief description of the situation that characterized each generation in correspondence with their process of ascendant social mobility, in order to provide a context as well as the characteristics of educational system as field. After this, key narratives and main experiences related to the habitus formation process are presented. These are analysed in relation to the opportunities and constraints that each generation found in their encounters with the outside world (Di Maggio 1979 cited by Reay 2004:434). Causal narratives are developed involving a chain of reasoning that leads to an understanding of the formation of habitus.

6.1 Educational trajectories in the RMC samples: A general view of upward mobility

The trajectories described by the parents interviewed talk about successful experiences, a great deal of sacrifice, willpower, with progress and setbacks, and a commitment to education in order to emerge. Although I will focus on the analysis of the trajectory of each generation in the next sections of this chapter, I wanted to start by showing a general view of the educational trajectory of both RMC groups as evidence of mobility. To do that I have mainly worked based on indicators of level of education achieved, years of schooling, and careers and employment of each generation. The results are presented in charts that allow a better visualization of both the evolution across generations and a comparative view of both RMC fractions. The findings show that there is clear upward educational mobility across the three RMC generations (grandparents – parents – children), and, as was expected, there are different rates and levels of achievements between the consolidated and the precarious RMC groups. Although the findings presented in the charts offer many interesting aspects to be analyzed I mainly focus on general aspects because the central aim of this chapter is the analysis of habitus formation process in the remainder sections.

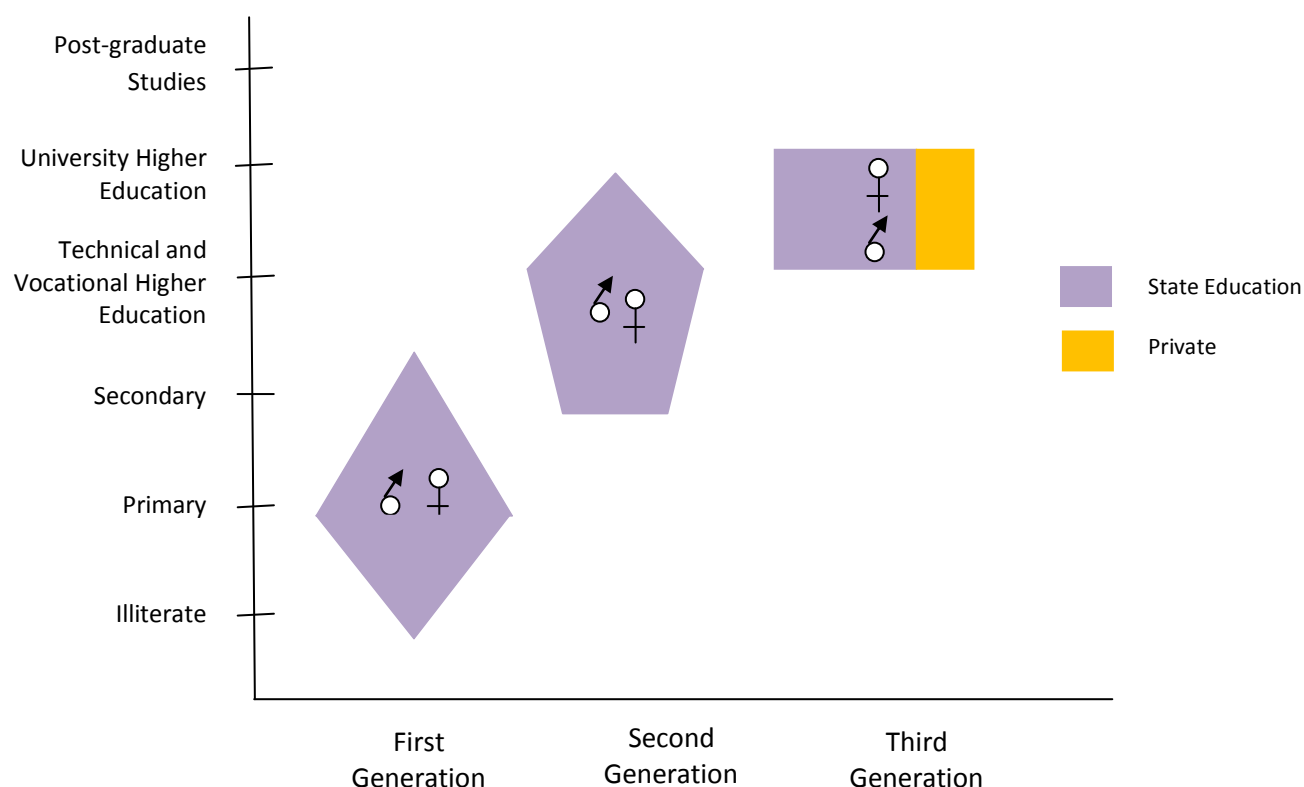
In relation to the levels of education achieved, these rise among the generations and show different patterns in the two RMC fractions (see charts 2 and 3). In the case of the consolidated group (see chart 2) the most common attainment for the grandparents' generation was the completion of secondary education (a few of them reached vocational education, while at the other extreme a minority remained illiterate). In the parents' generation, the majority finished university studies. For the children's generation the level achieved by the parents has become the minimum goal to reach, at least in terms of the parents' aspirations who expect their children to do post-graduates studies in private institutions. Thus, according to these trajectories, it is possible to find cases of impressive upward mobility across generations where illiterate grandparents could have post-graduate grandsons or granddaughters.

Chart 2. Educational Achievement by Generations_RMC Consolidated Group



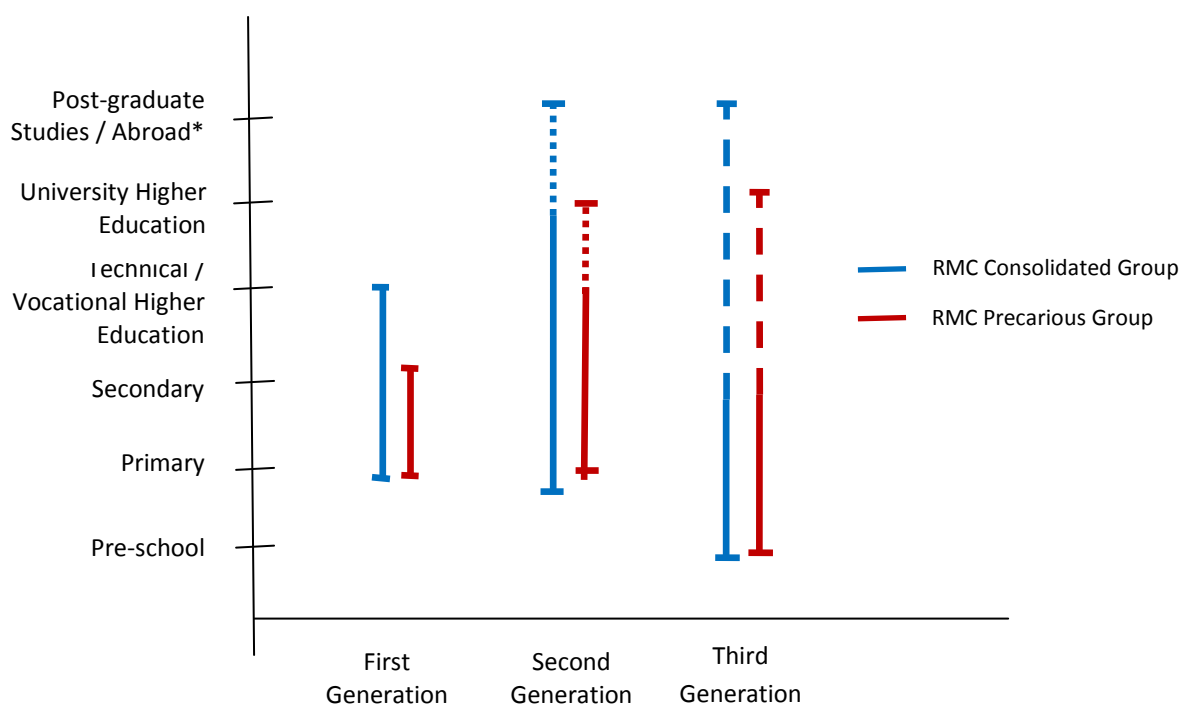
In the case of the precarious group the levels of education achieved as well as the evolution across generations is more modest (see chart 3). While most grandparents only finished primary school and a minority completed secondary education, the majority of the parents completed secondary school (exceptionally one father did university studies and a few of them finished vocational and technical studies). It is expected that the children will accomplish university studies mainly in state institutions although some parents also mentioned their preference for private universities.

Chart 3. Educational Achievement by Generations_RMC Precarious Group



Mobility is also reflected in the years of schooling reached by each RMC generation where considerable variations are found across generations and between RMC groups (see chart 4). While the grandparents' generation from the consolidated RMC had an average of 11 years of schooling (including primary and secondary), and only a few cases achieved 13 years (those who followed vocational studies), the parents' generation reached 16 years on average (because most of them completed university studies), and the children's generation will probably reach 20 years (including pre-school, school, graduate and post-graduate studies). In the case of the precarious RMC group the grandparents had an average of 6 years of schooling (mainly complete primary education) and only a few of them completed secondary education. The parents' generation reached 11 years on average and it is expected that the children's generation will reach 18 years (including pre-school, school and undergraduate studies).

Chart 4. Levels of Education by Generation



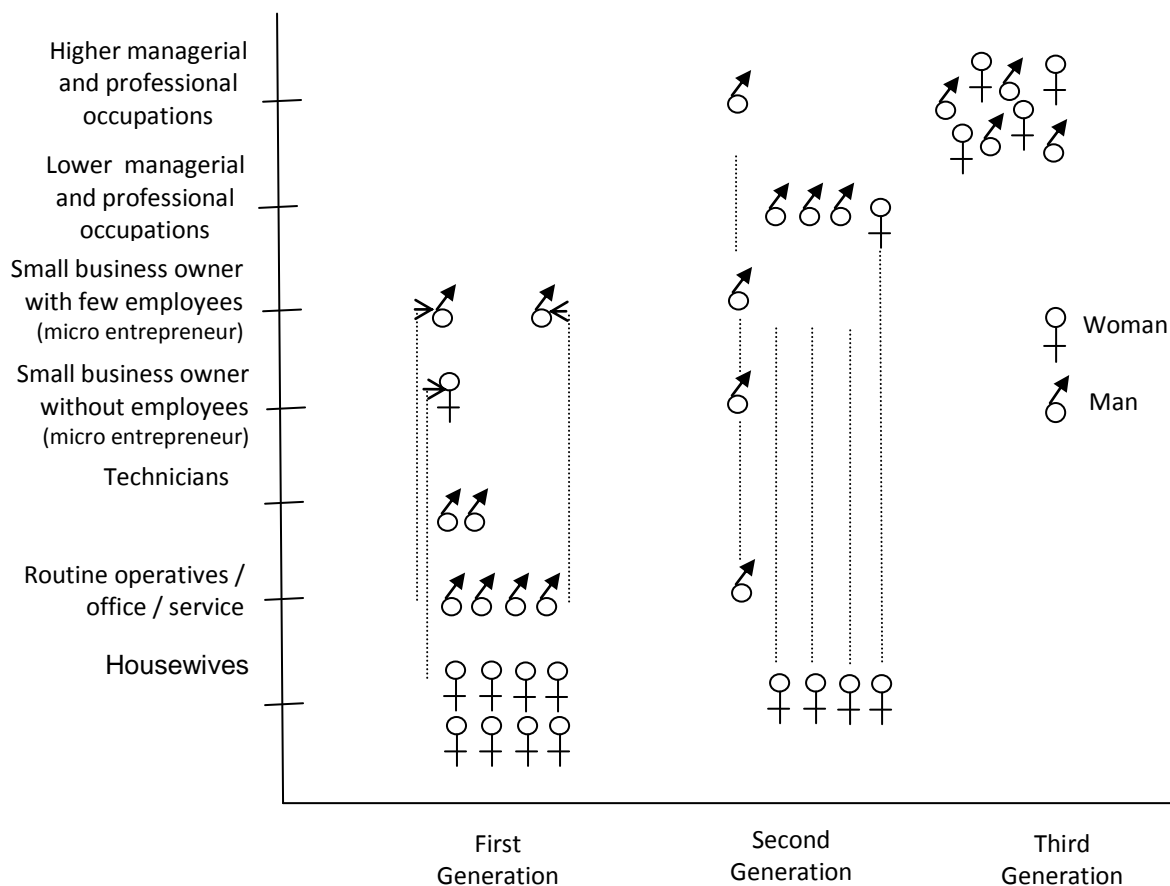
(*) The dotted line in the second generation means that that part of the trajectory was not the common pattern but was only achieved by few parents interviewed. In the case of the children's generation, the dotted line indicates the projection according to the parents' expectations

Finally, in relation to careers and employment these also reflect a set of transformations across generations in correspondence with their achievements in the previous indicators (see charts 5 and 6). In the consolidated group, while the grandparents' generation were employed principally as untrained workers in the service and extractive sectors (only a few of them followed short technical careers such as junior military officers), the big 'jump' occurred with the parents' generation where the majority of them became professionals following different university careers. It is expected that the current generation, the children, will also become professionals but in a wider variety of careers than their parents, and with postgraduate studies or work experiences abroad. In relation to this, the precarious group is one generation "behind", and hence it is expected that the big jump will occur with the professionalization of the current children's generation.

In the case of the consolidated group (see chart 5), the grandparents began by holding different routine jobs such as being waiters, bus-drivers, office boys, fishermen etc. Most of them worked in temporary jobs and changed their employment activity often. Additionally, they carried out different jobs simultaneously for survival purposes. In the cases of two grandfathers, after working as employees in different businesses, they set up their own informal businesses which would later become prosperous family businesses (as micro

entrepreneurs in catering and fishing)¹³⁷. Grandmothers were mainly housewives although in all the cases they contributed in different degrees to the family budget with an income generated by small temporary businesses that were carried out in the home (such as sewing, knitting or cooking). Only one of the women of this generation managed to set up her own small business as a cosmetologist, and two other women were actively involved in the running of a family business together with their husbands.

Chart. 5 Careers and Employment by Generation_Consolidated group



The parents had a range of careers and occupations that included: university careers such as accountancy, administration, engineering, law, biology, veterinary sciences, and economics. Most fathers obtained full-time employment and all of them practice their profession in the state or private sector or in NGOs. Most of them have held different jobs throughout their professional career although less frequently than their parents. In the case of self-employed workers, they were able to manage their own micro-businesses after working as employees in different businesses. While one of them studied administration and

¹³⁷ Both appear in Chart 4 as examples of intra-generation mobility expressed through the arrows

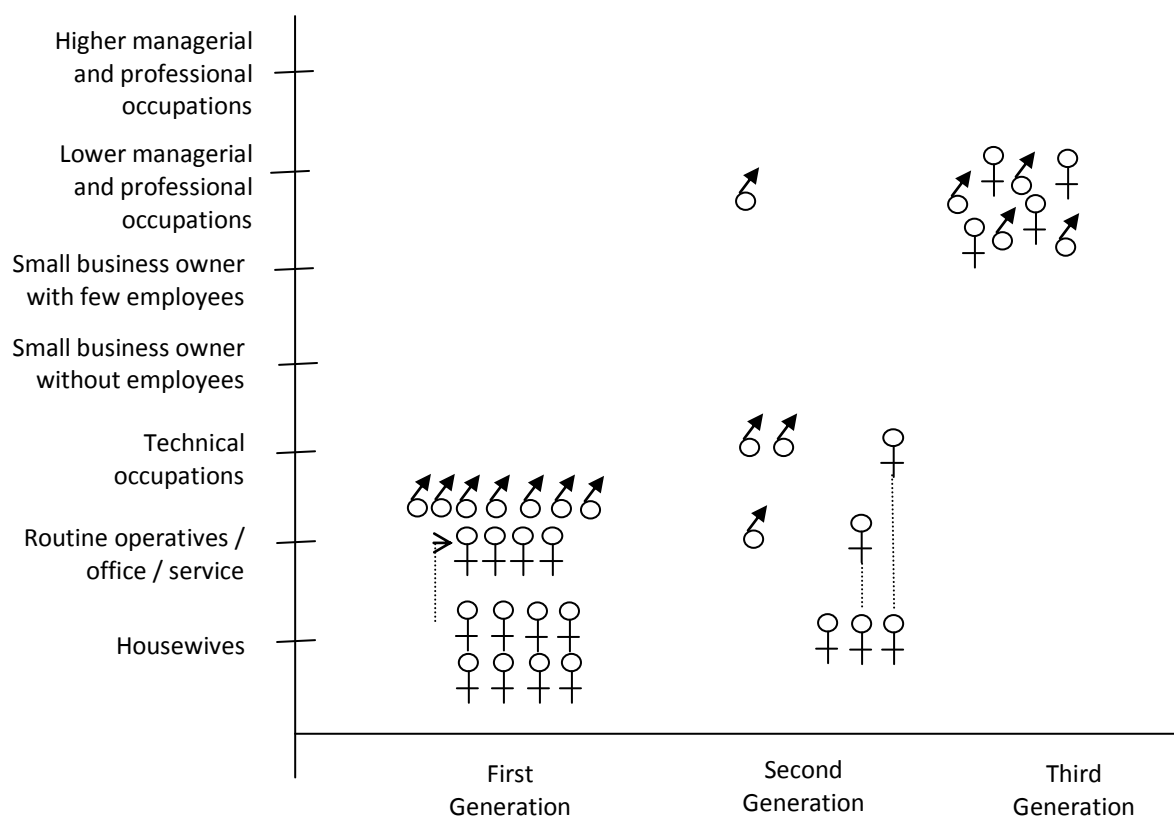
managed a small transport business with his wife, the other only finished secondary school and managed a medium-size shoe factory also with his wife¹³⁸. In the case of the mothers, although most of them have university degrees, they are mainly housewives bringing up their children and in some cases combining this with freelance work or managing micro businesses (not related to their professions) on a part-time or hourly basis. Only one of the mothers interviewed works in her profession¹³⁹. Half the fathers and one of the mothers interviewed have continued their professional education throughout their careers through specialisation courses or master's degrees. It is expected that the children's generation will carry out a wider range of careers and occupations than their parents including: engineering, design, architecture, publicity, science, being managers of their own business, politicians, sportsmen or women, dancers, musicians.

In the case of the precarious group (see chart 6) the grandparents were mainly employed as manual workers (shoemakers, gardener, construction worker, security worker, mining worker) holding temporary and simultaneous jobs for a survival economy. In contrast with the grandparents of the consolidated group none of them managed to establish their own micro-business. In the case of the women, most of them in addition to being housewives worked outside the home as cleaners, domestic servants or selling in markets. In the parents' generation a group of the fathers work as support technicians in a mobile phone company and in the health ministry, one works as a laborer in a warehouse business, and only one is a lawyer in a private law firm. Many of them referred to their 'failed' careers mentioning professions that they would have liked to study (such as engineering, radio broadcasting) but were prevented from doing so due to a lack of financial means. In the case of the mothers although two of them studied vocational careers such as physiotherapist and medical seller, all of them are mainly housewives devoted almost exclusively to bringing up their children. Similarly to the mothers of the consolidated group they occasionally work as sellers, physiotherapist, or cleaning assistant. It is expected that the current generation of children will achieve the big jump through their professionalization.

¹³⁸ The latter is an interesting case because it is the couple with fewer educational achievements but with greater economical capital accumulation through their own business.

¹³⁹ This seemed to be a common pattern also for most of mothers who participated In the discussion groups who, in spite of having a profession, had decided to devote themselves exclusively to bringing up their children. Only one of them had a full-time employment

Chart. 6 Careers and Employment by Generation_Precarious group



After this general view of educational mobility, the following sections analyse the habitus formation process regarding the different contexts surrounding each generation and each RMC fraction as well as how the opportunities and constraints experienced by each one in their process of ascendant mobility influences the (trans)formation of the habitus. Then an intergenerational and also a contrast view between RMC's fractions are included.

6.2 The Grandparents *'All they could have been with more education'*

The beginnings: emerging from scratch

The grandparents' generation were migrants who arrived in the capital for first time. It was mainly through their own effort, work and willpower that most of them created a life project starting from scratch and developing despite adverse conditions. Narratives talk about a sacrificed generation with grandparents entirely dedicated to different and simultaneous jobs

to support their large families¹⁴⁰. They went from a survival economy to greater stability through a process of economic accumulation when the children grew up. Their success is mainly attributed to individual effort and entrepreneurial attitude supported by family and kinship networks¹⁴¹.

In relation to education, the first generation's schooling was very limited with different levels of achievement with regard to the RMC fraction and gender. All of them attended state schools which was possible due to the expansion of the State educational system during the sixties. Grandparents underwent or started to undergo primary-school education in their birthplaces in the provinces (in most cases in rural schools). The majority of them from the consolidated group completed their secondary-school studies in Lima, going to night school while they worked outside the home (in the case of the grandfathers), or as housewives (in the case of the grandmothers). In the case of the grandparents from the precarious group, most of them only finished primary school and only a few completed secondary education. In both groups a couple of grandparents were illiterate.

Higher studies were not feasible for this generation. Exceptionally, two grandparents from the consolidated group attained vocational education as part of the training received as lower-ranked police and navy officers, and two grandmothers attended post secondary-school job training (as a cosmetologist and secretarial studies). The grandfathers were the heads of the household and the main financial providers, however, the grandmothers also contributed in different degrees to the family budget with an income generated by small temporary businesses that were carried out in their home, or being actively involved in the running of a family business together with their husbands.

Key Narratives and main experiences for the construction of habitus

This generation was the bearer of what Peruvian anthropology has called 'the myth of education', according to which access to education was an almost sufficient requirement to aspire to upward mobility (Toche 2009). In this perspective, the accounts given by the parents tell of the different efforts made by the grandparents to complete their own basic schooling, but above all, their strong commitment to all their children receiving education which involved not only school education but also university or higher technical studies. The

¹⁴⁰ By then, families interviewed from the consolidated group had an average of five children and families from the precarious group had 7.2 children.

¹⁴¹ This mainly reflects the trajectory of the consolidated group, as the precarious one stayed at survival level until the next generation of parents. This is explained by different reasons among them the bigger size of their families (the range of children was from 6 to 14) or the early death of one or both parents.

narratives in this section speak of early and strong messages instilled in the parents about the value of education to succeed in life and, in contrast, the idea of failure due to a lack of education. Lived experiences also contributed to reinforce these messages. These were mainly provided by the parents from the RMC consolidated group and, more exceptionally, by a few parents from the precarious group. Most of the parents from this latter group stated that the grandparents' main concern was to cover other basic needs.

- *Key Narrative 'What they could have been with a better education'*

In their accounts, the parents indicated that the grandparents were conscious of their restricted opportunities given their limited education and how they accepted this as part of the price to be paid by the first generation, as a generation of sacrifice, in order to get ahead in life. However, in some cases the grandparents told them how different their lives would have been with a better education, making clear the value they attributed to education as a means for improving or transforming life: *"My mum always said 'I would have been able to be more as a person but I haven't had the opportunity to study' Maybe that has influenced me to continue studying"* (Mrs. Llerena, School A). Moreover, some accounts also expressed the sense of frustration that this produced in the grandparents, especially as they felt they had the necessary abilities and wanted to study more, but they had to make sacrifices. Exceptionally one grandfather as an adult managed to achieve his wish:

"My father always said 'If I had finished high school I wouldn't be like I am, I would have gone further'. It is because education takes you where you want to! He always liked to study since he was a child at the rural school. He would have wanted to study more. He always wanted to study law but life didn't give him the chance. But at least he took a specialization course in business at the Catholic University when he was an adult, managing a successful business"
(Mrs. Miranda, School A)

"He couldn't follow higher studies although he had the potential for it because he had always been first in the class. He's a person that likes reading; he's got a lot of general knowledge but never had the chance to study, did he? That's why he always used to say that it's up to oneself to want to study ..."
(Mrs. Soto, School B)

These accounts talk about the lack of opportunities for a better education in persons with the ability to take advantage of the power of education. Likewise, the establishment of a clear 'causality' could be inferred between educational achievements and the fulfilment of aspirations and self-fulfillment, expressed in an extreme (and naïve) way when affirming that "education takes you where you want" corroborating the 'myth of education' already

mentioned. In some cases the parents recognized that the experience of failure of their own parents influenced their decision to continue studying as was expressed in a reflective way by Mrs. Llerena.

- *The strong commitment to the education of their children*

However, where the value attributed to education was most strongly expressed and crystallized was in the conviction and firm commitment among the majority of grandparents of this generation to provide their children with a better education¹⁴². This included both school as well as higher education, which would give them the opportunity to become professionals and have a higher standard of living than they had had. As emphasized by several of the parents interviewed, the grandparents' accounts showed the enormous value attached to education as a means of rising out of poverty, in coherence with the 'myth of education' that prevailed in that generation.

The importance of education was instilled into children from an early age and it was constantly hurled in their faces as Mrs. Miranda (school A) expresses: *"Since we were young children we knew we had to study, to have a career in order to have another kind of life [as opposed to their parents]. Additionally, my father always told us that education was the only thing that nobody could take away from us"*. Also Mrs. Soto (school B) remembers: *"My father was always telling us that we had to study, study, study and not be like him who didn't [study]... he always said that to us"*. According to Bourdieu (1977), primary socialization is critical to the constitution of habitus because it constitutes the child's first encounters with the social world, during which he/she begins to interiorize its external structures. Specifically, university and the aim of obtaining a university degree were instilled in children through clear and categorical messages such as: *"My dad and my mum were among those who said, if you don't have a degree you are dead"* (Mr. Miranda, School A). Only this route would give them opportunities and, above all, would mean not having to make the same sacrifices they (grandparents) had made:

"When my dad had a day off from the office he went to work driving a bus. We (my brothers and me) told him 'but dad it's your day off, rest!' He would answer 'that's because I don't have a degree, if you don't want to do this yourself then you have to study and get a degree'" (Mr. Miranda. School A)

¹⁴² While this was a common pattern for the RMC consolidated group with the exception of one family, the Quispes; few parents from the precarious group mentioned this strong commitment to the education of their children on the part of the grandparents. Rather, they as parents are assuming this concern for the education of their children (third generation)

“My mother was very clear in pressuring us to finish our higher education studies. When I or my sisters told her we didn’t want to continue studying she replied very angrily: who wants to ruin their life?? Ok, ruin it! Look around you very carefully, you will stay here as an employee [in her small business] forever” (Mrs. Chura, School A)

In contrast, the situation was very different for many of the precarious families interviewed. The parents remembered that the grandparents’ main concern at the time was being able to cover the basic needs of feeding, housing and dressing of their numerous children without paying much attention to their education (It was also the case of the Quispe family although they belong to the consolidated group):

*[Q: Did you receive support from your parents for your studies?
“No, no, no, no very little... they had enough problems providing for the family; with the number of children they had they were focused on getting the money to pay for food, to make sure we were healthy...”
(Mr. Castro, School B)*

“We were a poor family and there were lots of us [14 brothers and sisters]. They weren’t concerned about me studying, sometimes we repeated the year, I only just finished secondary school” (Mr. Meza, School B)

Conclusion. The early messages regarding the value of education which the parents transmitted to their children were charged with emotion, illustrating the particular circumstances and the collective trajectory of this emerging sector. The grandparents demonstrated the limitations and sacrifices experienced by their generation to instill the idea of both progress understood as overcoming the limitations of a poorly educated generation that had directly experienced the consequences of this; and also the idea of failure in the reproduction of similar conditions. Thus, there was a search to make the most of the better opportunities that education brought for the new generation: to obtain a good that nobody could take from them, rise out of poverty, be someone in life. Hence, the option for education, particularly higher education, was ‘taken-for-granted’. Not pursuing this was virtually inconceivable as it was part of a normal biography for this RMC fraction. It is worth noticing that the views expressed by the parents interviewed corroborate the findings of the first studies on social mobility and education carried out in Peru between the nineteen sixties and eighties, which conclude that education had always been perceived as the great hope to achieve social equality (Muelle 1982 cited by Cuenca 2012). Finally, only few parents from the precarious group experienced this and incorporated similar dispositions for education. The situation was very different for most of them. The grandparents’ concerns were mainly

focused on their families' basic survival. Rather, the strong commitment to the education of their children would be assumed one generation later, that is, by the parents (second generation) in relation to their children (third generation).

6.3 The parents *'The only way after school: University'*

The 'jump' to becoming rising middle class¹⁴³

The parents' accounts talk about an initial period of precariousness (mainly during their childhood) that, to a greater or lesser extent, progressively changed to reach greater economic stability when they grew up, which made it possible to fulfill one of the main aspirations for this generation in their process of ascendant mobility: to follow university studies. This led them to their professionalization, which, in the opinion of different authors was the touchstone to becoming middle class (Pedraglio 2003, Toche et al. 2003). In relation to this, it is important to highlight that it was the first time in the families' trajectories that someone had had access to university or technical studies becoming newcomers in higher education. Their narratives talk about how they lived this experience as well as their trajectories in the job market and in the formation of their own families. All these occurred during one of the most severe and deep economic and socio-political crises in the country that almost led to the collapse of the State at the end of the eighties.

In this generation the fathers continued to be the heads of the household and provided the largest proportion of the family income. In the case of the consolidated group, the fathers were (and currently are) in full-time employment, all of them practicing their profession, in the state sector, NGOs and the private sector as accountants, managers of environmental projects and university teachers. In the case of self-employed workers, they manage their own businesses. While one of them studied administration, the other only finished secondary school. In the case of the mothers, although most of them are professionals with work experience, currently only few exert their profession. They are mainly devoted to bringing up their children. In the case of the precarious group only one father is a professional working as a lawyer in a private firm. The other fathers with vocational and technical studies, after first years working in different and simultaneous jobs (many of them low remunerated and not related to their studies) they have specialized in their own jobs working in both the private and state sectors. In relation to the mothers, only two have vocational careers and all of them are also mainly devoted to bringing up their children.

¹⁴³ This 'jump' mainly reflects the trajectory of the consolidated group and, exceptionally, a few cases from the precarious one.

This section will analyze how and why the option for higher education, and specifically university studies, was interiorized as a disposition that would form part of the lifestyle of this generation. Likewise, how the different value of state and private education, in real and symbolic terms, began to be interiorized through significant experiences this generation went through.

Key narratives and main experiences for the habitus formation process

- Poor experiences of the state school

*“State schools are like our country, those who manage to develop, do so thanks to their own achievements and in spite of the State”
(Mr. Quispe, School A)*

All the parents interviewed attended state schools and they had a predominantly critical view of their experience in them basically in terms of low quality, inadequate infrastructure, poorly trained teachers, a hostile environment and a lack of concern for the students where only some, thanks to their own efforts and determination, do well. This latter is clearly expressed in Mr. Quispe’s quotation that introduces this section and also in the following reference:

“When I was there (state school) it was such a “noman’s land”: there weren’t any teachers, we missed lessons, and nobody checked if you had done your homework. If someone hit you, you couldn’t complain because if you did, they hit you again! Nobody protected you... and the bathrooms were really disgusting!” (Mr. Meza, School B)

However, even under these poor conditions attending school was the only acceptable choice for this generation. It was chosen even if this meant an enormous sacrifice such as the separation of the family as Mr. Porton mentioned in a reflective way about his mother’s decision to send him and his brothers to another city with the objective that they finish school:

“I think that deep in her [his mother’s] heart she was very sad about parting with her children but still, she sent us, right? Because she believed that if her children stayed they would be the same as her, didn’t she? They’re not going to study anything; they’re not going to finish school” (Mr. Porton, School B)

On the other hand, opinions were more positive among those who attended subsidised schools, that is, schools paid by the state but managed by a non-state institution. Parents mentioned schools managed by a police institution and a private company (bank):

“We never missed lessons, although it was not a private school, it was a bank school but we had good teachers, some subjects weren’t so good but others were!... I remember my schoolmates very well; there was great camaraderie and respect among all” (Mrs. Chura, School A)

“I have great love for the high school because there was respect, we were treated well, and the assistants always gave us advice... I remember that our class assistant gave us a lot of advice, and some teachers too, and that motivated us to be better, to be better citizens. These kinds of things stay with you, don’t they? (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

The different experiences of schooling in the state system described by the parents interviewed, which include references to urban and rural state schools, night state schools and subsidised schools illustrate the enormous stratification and inequality that have historically characterised the Peruvian education system. As it was previously mentioned, this generation and the previous one were able to attend school due to the expansion of the State education system. However, a critical aspect of this expansion was that it was achieved at the expense of an increasing deterioration in quality¹⁴⁴. At that time the educational system was clearly unequal in terms of quality depending on the geographical area (urban-rural), and even in urban areas the quality of the regular and night schools was very different. The grandparents attended rural schools and night schools which had the greatest limitations within the system. In the case of the parents, most of them attended urban state schools that in previous years had enjoyed a good reputation and prestige (these schools were mostly attended by the middle class). However, by the time the parents attended them, their quality had decreased as a consequence of the deterioration of public services given the strong crisis the country went through during the eighties. Only schools that were not entirely managed by the state appeared in the parents’ narratives as positive experiences.

- *The relative value of state schools when going on to further education*

Other evidence of the serious limitations of the basic education received by the parents interviewed was the great effort they had to make once they had finished school in order to enter university. An average of one and a half additional years studying at and paying for a pre-university institute was mentioned by all the parents. It must be pointed out that this situation was not exclusive to state schools. Students that went to private schools also attended these pre-university institutes that by then were widespread in order to enter

¹⁴⁴ See the evolution of the Peruvian Education System included in the Background Chapter

university¹⁴⁵. However, in extreme cases the poor schooling received by the parents at state schools meant that they had to discard the option of higher education. This was because they realized that school did not provide them with the minimum knowledge and abilities to be able to continue their studies:

I went to high school at night [night school], during Alan Garcia's time¹⁴⁶. A bomb explosion, which occurred very often at that time, and everybody went home. We lost many school days and at the end of the year teachers charged for marks and we passed (...) I wanted to be a lawyer, so I went to study at a pre-university institute when I finished the school and I realized there that I knew nothing! I had never seen the subjects that they taught me and that I should have learned at school. Trigonometry??? I said where am I? My classmates could do the exercises but I couldn't. I tried for two months, but one day I felt really lost and walking toward the institute I decided to give it up and put away my books for ever because I was wasting time. It was better to invest my time in things that I really enjoyed. Then, I devoted myself to business. So, if you give me the chance I don't have to think about it, I would look for the best school for my children and that would be a private one"
(Mr. Quispe, School A)

The experience of Mr. Quispe shows how the strong constraints in his state school education clearly influenced his decision to rule out higher education, by then, the common aspiration and 'natural' next step after school.

- *Key Narrative 'There was just one alternative after school: University'*

"Thanks to my mother I didn't know that there were different paths in life; there was only one alternative after school: university" (Mr. Soto, School B)

As mentioned in the analysis of the previous generation, the second generation grew up with the idea of going on to higher education which would enable them to become professionals. According to the parents' narratives this was internalized as the only possible way, another choice was inconceivable as it is clearly expressed in Mr. Soto's quotation. When parents were asked if they or any of their brothers or sisters considered the option of working after finishing school instead of continuing their studies the responses were very eloquent in the sense that that was inconceivable, as Mrs. Miranda expresses: *"Noooo, no, noooo that wasn't even under discussion! [incredulity and laughter] We all knew that we had to continue*

¹⁴⁵ It is worth noticing that these pre-university institutes were not free, families had to pay for their children to attend them.

¹⁴⁶ The father refers to the first term in office of former president Alan Garcia who governed the country for the first time during the worst political, economic and social crisis at the end of the 80's, which led to the near collapse of the State in the middle of an internal war against terrorism.

studying!” On the contrary, to a greater or lesser extent, the parents stated that those who did not follow this option were clearly considered to have failed, which indicates the extent to which this disposition was internalized:

“For my mother the only option for her children was a university career. For the very reason that she had not gone to university, not to have a career [in reference to her children] was a failure” (Mr. Soto, School B)

“I remember that my oldest brother helped my younger sister to pay for her studies to enter University; but then she got pregnant and it was as a shock.. Even my brother, who never expressed his emotions, was really sad and cried a lot... I want to say, he wanted to help her to build her future but she didn’t take advantage of that opportunity. And she has achieved few things in her life” (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

The value attributed to higher education can also be seen in the many sacrifices made by them and their families so that they could study, and the strong messages from their grandparents urging them to finish their studies. Firstly, the university option included efforts made to study in order to enter university: pay for pre-university institutes as well as the effort and time devoted to these studies (a year and a half on average). Secondly, the financial cost included not only the expenses entailed in university education (in spite of the supposedly free-of-charge state education, which is never completely free), but also the income the families failed to receive when their children studied and did not work. According to the parents’ narratives although the situation of the families was better than when the grandparents had arrived to the capital it was far from being stable. Providing higher education for all their children involved considerable effort, which is acknowledged by the parents: *“they [her parents] had two or three jobs and they stayed up all night working in order to pay for our education” (Mrs. Miranda, School A)*. Thirdly, the grandparents also transmitted the strong message that to complete university studies was the main goal above and beyond any other. This was recurrently mentioned especially to their sisters as the following quotations illustrate:

“Our father clearly told us that we had to finish university before having a boyfriend, before that we couldn’t date... only after you finish can you start going out with someone, he used to say” (Mrs. Miranda, school A)

“When I finished school I knew that I didn’t want to stay in the country. I wanted to go abroad but my parents didn’t want that. They told me that I had to study, to finish a career and then I could leave. I obeyed and didn’t even get as far as the airport [laughs]” (Mrs. Chura, school A)

The narratives of some parents from the precarious group also express how this disposition for professional or university studies was present in this group and the sense of frustration when they could not achieve it:

“When I finished school my older brother told me to go to a pre-university institute. But I was unlucky because it was during the time of the economic measures¹⁴⁷ and that meant I couldn’t continue studying. Prices soared and I no longer had the money so I had to leave the institute and look for work”
(Mr. Castro, School B)

From a similar perspective, in a thoughtful way the narrative of Mrs. Porton clearly expresses the limited opportunities available if one has not become a professional, as is her case:

“It’s extremely important to have a career because you can earn a living, you can progress in life... the same won’t happen to her [in reference to her daughter] Wherever you go they don’t only ask for primary or secondary education, but for a university degree, they ask what career you have. If you don’t have one, you stagnate” (Mrs. Porton, School B)

- *Support from the family and the immediate environment for higher education: Family habitus and Class Habitus*

It is interesting to notice through the parents’ narratives how the decision to follow university studies was established at different levels: individual, family and social environment, and was expressed through different actions of support. The most common scenario was family support as a crucial factor to continue on to higher studies. Many parents and older brothers and sisters were those who most encouraged and supported the second generation to continue with further education and they supported their efforts financially and/or morally (*“My brother passed on to me the idea that I should continue studying. My father had supported him, so my brother said to me ‘you have to study’ ”* Mr. Castro, School B) However, some of the parents interviewed also stated that in their cases their family did not support or put pressure on them but, rather, were indifferent, and they went ahead and achieved their goals thanks to their own initiative and efforts:

“When I finished school I knew that I wanted to go to university but I had several siblings and my parents couldn’t afford it. So I started to look for a way to go to university; I studied at two pre-university institutes and even got a partial scholarship; I used to get together with students that knew more that I did and after almost two years I managed to enter university”
(Mrs. Llerena, School A)

¹⁴⁷ It refers to a set of strong economic measures adopted in the country during the severe economic crisis at the end of the eighties. As a consequence the prices of goods and services skyrocketed

The parents also emphasised the support they received from other key people in their immediate environment who encouraged them to go on to higher education such as their teachers, neighbours or godparents. The following quotation illustrates well how the disposition to continue to higher studies was expressed in their close environment:

"My older brother, when he was studying [after finishing school] would talk to his neighbourhood friends about what they were going to study and I would listen to their conversations ... They (boys in the neighbourhood) were going to study because their parents, who were teachers, always encouraged them and the people here (he mentions the names of some neighbours) also encouraged us to go to university" (Mr. Chura, school A)

Cases like this shows how families or individuals were not alone in their intention of going on to higher studies but this was shared and representative of a social sector. As Lauder et al (1999:27) point out "in this sense it is a matter of class, not only family background, because it is the school, the peer group and the family which all hold these expectations". Additionally, the vast number of pre-university institutes that functioned at the time is indicative of the huge demand for university education.

Finally, it is important to stress the gender differences mentioned by some mothers. Two of them stated that their parents and older brothers questioned and played down the importance of higher education for them due to the fact that they were women, giving 'weird' or 'crazy' messages (as they called these messages):

"I remember that my dad sometimes had some crazy ideas and he said to me 'why are you doing that (studying) if you'll only be a mother in the end!' He said this two or three times. My eldest brother also supported him. That bothered me..." (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

"My goal was always to study [higher education], that was my wish and my big dream. But my parents didn't take any interest; I think that perhaps they had never seen a professional woman, a lawyer or such. So they said 'Do you want to study? What for?' "Chancletas"¹⁴⁸ cannot study'. They didn't even enroll me for high school; I enrolled myself because I wanted to study" (Mrs. Quispe, School A)

- *Higher education as a sign of differentiation and distinction*

Perhaps the main expression of differentiation that higher education entailed for the second generation was that the opportunity for professionalization represented the touchstone to

¹⁴⁸ Pejorative term alluding to an inferior female status

becoming middle class, as is widely acknowledged (Toche 2009, Pedraglio 2003). This can be corroborated in the two groups of our sample who represent opposite cases (although with exceptions in both). Most parents from the consolidated group that went to university managed to achieve a more stable situation, increase their income and patterns of consumption, and lead a more middle class lifestyle¹⁴⁹; while the parents from the precarious group, most with only secondary education or vocational careers, did not achieve this transformation¹⁵⁰.

Reinforcing this idea, some of the parents interviewed stated in a reflective way how the prevalent option for university studies was only reached by “a few”, denoting an exclusive sense, that led them to distinguish themselves from other classmates or neighbourhood friends who decided not to continue to higher studies or were unable to do so.

“At school everyone wanted to go to University but not all of them had the support and the spiritual strength to do so. I remember that some teachers supported us” (Mr. Soto, school B)

“Now I see that the option for university was only taken up by a few, because I see that some schoolmates have accomplished good things but few of them have completed higher education at university. Some of them have only followed technical careers and they have been smart people... yeah... but few people have completed university and others just stayed as housewives...” (Mrs. Llerena, school A)

The narratives suggest a clear hierarchy among the different trajectories taken by the parents’ generation where university studies are placed at the top, attributing great effort and ability in order to complete these studies, which are destined for intelligent people, all of which contributes to a sense of exclusivity. At the other extreme are those who ‘just stayed as housewives’. This does not contradict the idea of class habitus discussed in the previous section. The extended disposition to pursue higher education did not mean that everyone could effectively enter and/or conclude university studies. Indeed, this gave the university option its sense of exclusivity.

- *The ‘value’ of the private and the state university:
Real and symbolic differences*

¹⁴⁹ With the exception of the Quispe parents who without higher studies significantly improved their living conditions

¹⁵⁰ With the exception of the Soto parents who with higher studies improved their living conditions

Although most of parents attended state universities references to private ones were very present in their accounts, basically in comparative terms. Differences refer to the real as well as the symbolic value that both types of education had according to their own experiences. The parents stated that when they opted for state university studies they knew that there were other more prestigious private alternatives but these were unaffordable. Thus, they chose among the state options as 'corresponded' to this social sector: *"In my group, when considering which university to try for, we thought of San Marcos, the National University of Engineering and Villareal [all them state universities]"* (Mrs. Chura, school A). Firstly, differences included the length of the careers. While at state universities the careers were longer because they were interrupted by frequent employee strikes and the problems of terrorist infiltration¹⁵¹, private universities did not have these problems. In fact, the set of parents that had the financial means to choose a private university stated as one of the main reasons that at state universities it took a long time to finish a career. Another important difference stated by the parents was the value of the degrees and certificates issued by private and state universities in the labour market. This meant that the graduates from private universities were greatly (or even exclusively) preferred in what were considered better work opportunities as the following quotation of the one mother graduated from a state university illustrates:

"I remember the times when I would take my papers to get a job and they [companies, state organizations] preferred people from the Catholic University and other private universities... At the end the job I got was because a university friend or one from a previous job called me, not for my papers!; or like in the period when the SUNAT – national tax administration bureau – called for people and they only accepted those from private universities... that marked me" (Mrs. Miranda, School A)

Besides these objective differences, the parents also pointed out more symbolic ones stating that people that attended private universities came from another social level, with a different cultural and social background, academic abilities and ways of speaking. Thus, as Ball (2003:2) argues there were "'cultural profits' to be garnered in the form of social cachet, access to privileged social network and the acquisition of certain cultural competencies", and as parents conclude attending these universities places you in a higher social position:

"I realized that the Catholic University [prestigious private university], for example, was of a higher level. Also I realized that within my neighborhood the best families sent their sons and daughters to the Catholic University! And

¹⁵¹ The severe crisis of the 80's, period during which they studied, included an internal war against terrorism (see the Background Chapter)

once, a friend invited me to a Catholic University party and I saw that the people there were from another level" (Mrs. Chura, School A)

"A person's profession and where they have studied is definitely to their advantage. I remember a cousin that introduced his girlfriend saying 'she is a lawyer from the 'Catholic University' as if this [profession and university] was her name and surname [laughs]" (Mrs. Miranda, School A)

- *Education and professionalization to become part of the rising middle class. But, what about inclusion?*

Consistent with the findings of Cuenca (2012), for the majority of mothers and fathers interviewed the chance of access to higher education made it easier to enter the labour market (here I mainly refer to the consolidated group). This has enabled them to achieve considerable material comfort (which they perceive as having made progress), overcome financial constraints and the "sacrifice" which characterised their parents' generation. Although at the beginning of their labour trajectory they needed the support of family networks, currently they have reached financial stability, which gives them and their families better opportunities¹⁵². Thus, there are clear returns on higher education in improving social and economic status. As pointed out by Benavides (2004), access to higher education has contributed to them rising above their social origins and obtaining better jobs (see chapters 5 and 6) . Or as stated by Méndez and Gayo (2007:129) with regard to the processes of upward social mobility, "the individuals that experience this rise in social status do so after having obtained the academic degree required for access to these positions", in this case a university degree. Here we should mention the case of the Quispe family as an exception to these meritocratic tendencies in the consolidated group. Of the four families interviewed they are the couple that have received the lowest level of education¹⁵³ but who have risen the most and have achieved the highest economic position (they have their own factory with 200 workers, a small shop in the market, and a couple of properties). In this case they have not needed university degrees to achieve substantial financial improvement which places them very far from their social beginnings.

However, the processes of social mobility go beyond the financial. As part of their process of upward social mobility, the parents interviewed had sustained exposure to other social classes or sectors located above them in the social stratification scale, to other

¹⁵² They have been able to build their own house, expand their business, and provide private education for their children

¹⁵³ He only finished secondary school, and she carried out short computing courses after finishing secondary and is currently studying for a degree in theology (in the sixth semester)

environments, spaces, practices and tastes. These point to a social and cultural capital that they have just begun to accumulate and whose possession they aspire for their children's generation regarding a reflexive consideration of future consequences. Because, although the second generation (parents) has definitely risen above the grandparents' generation, they continue to be excluded from social settings to which they aspire to belong. As Cuenca (2012:108) indicates: "everything suggests that it is possible to rise socially in the current climate of the country, but it is also possible to remain excluded (...) And the fact is that mobility and social inclusion are heterogeneous processes". This is clearly reflected in the situation of the families interviewed.

It is also important to mention the differences in the upward mobility trajectories of the Quispe family and the three other families from the consolidated group. While in the case of the latter, access to better quality schooling and studies at a state university has enabled them to interact with other social groups, to be aware of the differences and start the process of accumulation of social and cultural capital for inclusion, this is a journey that the Quispe family is only just embarking on and on which, on not having received better education, they feel at a greater disadvantage:

"As my level of education is really low I find it difficult to interact with professional people because they have another way of expressing themselves ...I can interact more easily with the people from my hometown because they haven't studied either (laughter). If you're well educated you can talk about everything, but I can only talk about what I know: business and the factory"
(Mr. Quispe, School B)

Conclusion. With regard to the habitus formation process in relation to education, it is possible to recognise how this has been restructured through these two generations, mainly for the RMC consolidated fraction. While for the first generation the access to state school education was in itself the distinguishing condition and disposition that prevailed and was strongly influenced by the limited resources available for them; for the second generation the disposition for higher education meant the touchstone to becoming RMC. Definitely the availability of greater resources in some of the families (especially financial capital) allowed this option. The narratives analyzed in this section show how higher education was one of the maximum aspirations of this social group and a common practice that underlined a set of dispositions formed through the strong messages that the parents' generation received since early childhood on the need to obtain a university degree in order to emerge, pull themselves out of poverty, achieve a higher standard of living and be someone in life. This

was also the result of experiencing the sacrifices made by their parents' generation owing to their scant education; the imputation of failure of those who did not decide on higher education; the clear support of the family and/or their immediate environment for this option. Hence, not doing so was virtually inconceivable as it was part of a normal biography. While this was a common pattern for the majority of families from the consolidated group, the situation was very different among the families from the precarious group. While in a few cases it was possible to recognize a similar disposition for higher education, for the majority of them basic survival needs made this option inconceivable. Rather, the disposition for university studies was extended in the families to the next generation (children).

Additionally, the second generation also experienced the limitations of state education in terms of its quality and value in comparison with private education. The narratives have revealed both real and symbolic differences. On the one hand, differences occurred in real terms as state education was more vulnerable to the negative effects of the troubled economic and socio political climate that prevailed and led to a deterioration of public services. Moreover, in the case of the consolidated group parents were also witnesses of the different value given to state and private university degrees in the labour market. On the other hand, symbolic differences were also attributed when parents recognized the different social and cultural backgrounds of people who attended private universities which bestowed on the latter greater status and prestigious. As will be seen in the next section, the opportunities and constraints experienced by the second generation have influenced the educational options and dispositions for the children's generation demonstrating the cumulative and transformative characteristics of the habitus. For the children's generation, due to the fact that the families will have the financial means to pay for it, private education will be "naturally" chosen as one of the strategies for social consolidation. In addition, parents from the consolidated group are conscious of the multiple efforts that need to be made as strategies for inclusion beyond formal education in the school.

6.4 The children 'Why would I send my children to a state school? '

Self-Enterprising citizens and an optimistic repertoire of imaginary futures for their children

The third generation's context and living conditions have been very different from the previous ones. The families currently enjoy economic stability and an expansion of

consumption¹⁵⁴. However, even though the RMC may have a greater amount of economic capital, they lack the cultural competences and skills legitimated by the middle class and are therefore unable to improve their social status in spite of their material success. The relative weight of economic capital needs cultural and symbolic capital to make progress in their process of social mobility especially in the sense of inclusion in different social settings to which they aspire to belong. As Ball (2003:8) argues “education as a field of distinctions and identities is crucial in changing and reproducing the boundaries of class”.

In this context, they have started to pay for private education for their children (which as Cuenca (2013) argues, is also strongly influenced by the decrease in family size¹⁵⁵). On the supply side for the first time families find a large offer of private schools within a market in clear process of expansion thanks to a legal framework that has encouraged the creation of private schools (Decree Law 882 of 1996). However, this offer is very heterogeneous in quality, segregated and deregulated with different circuits of schooling almost in concordance with distinct socio-economic levels.

The parents conveyed an optimistic repertoire of imaginary futures for their children reinforced by their strong sense of identity as entrepreneurial people. The most common aspiration is that they should be successful professionals with possibilities for self-fulfilment. As well as achieving a profession, another expectation mentioned by some of the parents interviewed centred on the particular job they hope their children will hold, envisaging them not as simple “performers” but in more managerial posts, which depends not only on having a profession, but also on the development of other skills and attitudes, as expressed by this mother:

“Do you know what I think? Sometimes you can be a worker or a technician and that’s all, and it’s ok, you’re a good technician. But every organisation also needs someone who has a clear vision of it all, who can bring people together and form teams, I mean not necessarily someone who knows everything but someone that has general knowledge, right? So for Esteban [her son], I would like him to be in a higher or middle position, as a technical advisor or manager, not someone who’s there simply as a performer. I think there are people that believe that being an engineer is enough, nothing else... But to occupy a higher position you have to be able to do many things, to know but also to be able to manage, right? And that entails other very important skills because they are

¹⁵⁴ In the case of the consolidated group, most of them have their own well-equipped houses (furniture and electric appliances), their own cars and enjoy short holidays in their free time. In the case of the precarious group, only few of them have their own modest houses and/or own used cars

¹⁵⁵ In the case of our sample the second generation had on average from 5 to 6.5 siblings while the third generation only has 2 siblings on average

posts that demand great responsibility! You earn a lot but your life goes on that, right?" (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

Key narratives and main experiences for the construction of habitus:

- *Key narrative: 'Why would I send my children to a State school? ' Private education as the only alternative*

The third generation's aspirations mean that state schooling is no longer an alternative and the families are perfectly willing to pay for private education. State education does not guarantee nor make feasible the transition to higher education, and in consequence, to better opportunities in the labour market (understanding education as an investment good). It is powerfully influenced by the parents' own experiences in state schooling. Furthermore, it does not represent, in symbolic terms, a space where their aspirations to distinguish themselves and rise socially through the accumulation of social and cultural capital can be fostered and realized (education as a consumption good). Rather, it represents completely the opposite. As García-Huidobro (2006:189) points out: "state education will continue to be, not the place where I can meet others, different to me, but with the same dignity and rights, but the space where attention is given to the needy who lack a family that may truly take care of them". At this point parents assume that state schools are residual institutions for those who are not able to pay, a group with which the families interviewed do not wish to be associated. Rather they represent 'the others' from which they wish to be distinguished (Adnett and Davies 2002). The strong stigmatization of state schools is dramatically expressed by Vergara (2013) when stating how families even prefer to choose poor quality private schools before a state one "the private schools in low-income neighborhoods (and in many middle-income ones) are not better than state schools; private schools aimed at low-income citizens do not save them from an anemic education; they only protect them from the stigma of having gone to a state school".

Another aspect that needs to be stressed is how the disposition for private education for their children co-occurs with the mothers' playing close attention to how the school is run. This is worth considering further as it would reflect a close relation between the habitus formation process and the social mobility process, which includes some changes in the RMC lifestyle. Firstly, the option for an exclusive or almost exclusive maternal dedication to the children's education implies that families have greater financial resources enabling them to manage without the mothers' incomes (all of them professionals or formerly in employment). Secondly, this also reflects complex strategies of capital accumulation, investment and the

conversion of various kinds of capital (Bourdieu 1986b) by the families interviewed in order to sustain or improve their position in the social hierarchy. In the current generation the relative weight of economic capital accumulation is strongly supplemented by an investment in cultural capital where the potential income that could be generated by the mothers is 'sacrificed' in order to boost the accumulation of education and cultural capital the possession of which may facilitate the reproduction of the metaphorical qualities of status and prestige. Finally, this also reflects the creation of a kind of lifestyle that differentiates the parents' generation from the grandparents' generation where the presence and active involvement of the parents, especially the mothers in the children's upbringing and education is highly valued and not only their capacity for income provision or their dedication to housewife's tasks. This expresses the distance between the old and new habitus shared by both RMC fractions.

- *The devaluation of educational credentials for class mobility*

As was presented in the previous chapter, the consolidated RMC parents' ambitions with regard to their children's education includes not only university education (which they also achieved although in state universities), but also post-graduate studies and training or work experience abroad. These increasing demands regarding educational trajectories are consistent with the changing role played by educational qualifications or credentials as mediators of class mobility, where it would seem that not just any type of university education would be enough for this objective. A relatively recent study on the rates of return on higher education carried out by Yamada (2007) in Peru reinforces this theory on arguing that the type of higher education institute – private and university over and above state and technical education – determines the rates of return on higher education. Additionally, given the progressive expansion of higher education, there could occur in the short and medium turn what Jackson, Goldthorpe and Mills (2002) suggest is a devaluing of educational credentials as a means of class mobility, as educational qualifications largely lose their capacity to "make a difference" (Méndez and Gayo, 2007). This situation will probably directly and to a greater extent affect the educational trajectory of the third generation.

- *The value of the enterprising spirit, making the difference*

Related to the previous point, another important aspect to stress is that in spite of the importance the parents attach to the formal education of their children, some of them also acknowledge that there are additional aspects that have a major bearing or that can be decisive for their insertion in the labour market. In the interviews they mentioned the

importance of developing an enterprising spirit or the ability to work in a team as factors that would distinguish professionals in an increasingly competitive market. Precisely some authors refer to these non-cognitive outcomes - attitudes and behaviors - as important to employees (Rothstein 2004, Wells et al 2008 cited by Elacqua 2012). As an example, parents talk about the case of well-educated professionals who, when lacking self-esteem and an enterprising attitude, have not been able to achieve adequate insertion in the labour market:

“For example, If you want to study law, you'll find thousands of lawyers...or let me say something more specific...environmental law, right? which is very popular nowadays.... You will find an important difference between a person who's trained as a lawyer and others who, as well as being trained, are proactive, take the initiative and have an entrepreneurial spirit. If you want to achieve something important, you have to make an effort, be strong and take the initiative”(Mr. Llerena, school A).

In this regard, Jackson (2001 cited by Méndez and Gayo 2007) points out that in the context of modern industrial societies, “although qualifications are important for employers, there are other criteria that are “non meritocratic”, but, rather, of an associated nature, which in many cases determine access to higher level positions and that are frequently restricted to people that belong to certain social groups”. And, as Robertson and Lauder (2001:226) conclude “when individuals all hold approximately equal credentials, other ways are found to distinguish them and select them for positions within the labour market”. The parents interviewed also referred to this relativisation of the role of education in the current labour market which, with even greater levels of competition, their children will form part of. As Méndez and Gayo (2007:143) warn, “the distinction between merit and other criteria will become increasingly complex”.

In this context one can understand the demand expressed by most of parents (from School A) in relation to including the development of entrepreneurial training in the school as a sort of alignment between family habitus and school habitus. If there is a characteristic that best defines this emerging social group it is precisely its entrepreneurialism (Yanaylle 1997, Toche 2003, Arellano 2008) (see the next chapter). Together with the financial capital they have accumulated, and the social, cultural and symbolic capital they aspire to, they have also developed high self-esteem as a result of having risen thanks to their own efforts, due to their enterprising spirit¹⁵⁶. This has provided them with a social identity and a collective

¹⁵⁶ Allusion is here made to what Garcia (2006:145) calls the psychological version of the entrepreneur, which has been the most popular and popularised: “psychology promotes the idea according to which every individual is able to undertake a successful financial activity resorting to internal motivation such as the need

sense of their own social worth. The possibility of rising thanks to their own means and motivation seems to influence the optimistic view that prevails regarding the aspirations for their children, which are in contrast with the fatalistic deterministic perspective of class-based societies (in spite of Peruvian society being particularly segregationist). It is thus logical that they should aim to reinforce this entrepreneurial condition through the education their children receive at school¹⁵⁷.

- *Education as inclusion? The importance of after-school activities*

As was already mentioned, despite the high value attributed to formal education in private schools for social reproduction, as Cuenca (2012:109) argues, “neither social mobility nor inclusion are processes that are automatically triggered by education or better jobs. The process of inclusion in other social groups implies constructing a strategy that may enable individuals to travel along complex paths plagued with barriers, especially cultural ones”. In the case of the families interviewed, exclusively for the consolidated group, the relative weight of attending private schools is supplemented with the children’s participation in after-school activities as these seem to contribute to a sense of inclusion in different social settings to which they hope their children will belong, especially at university.

All the parents interviewed from the consolidated group to a greater or lesser extent invest in giving their children the chance of participating in a wide range of after-school activities that include cultural, social and sports activities. Sports from the most popular such as football and volley-ball to more exclusive ones like tennis and swimming; foreign language-learning (most parents have registered their children at language institutes to learn English and some show interest in them learning Chinese); participation in theatre, clown, improvisation and oratory workshops; music (guitar, drums, piano), chess or painting lessons. Parents pointed out that these activities enable them to give their children a greater variety of experiences so that they may discover what they really like doing taking into consideration the development of skills and tastes that may complement what will be their main activity (profession). These results are consistent with the parents’ broad expectations about the future of their children where self-fulfilment, doing the things they like doing and being truly passionate about that

to carry something out, to experience new situations, to be fulfilled professionally, to become emancipated from the family tutelage”

¹⁵⁷ The educational offer of the circuit of schooling for the RMC is fulfilling this demand including the development of abilities related to entrepreneurialism. On the contrary, other central areas such as citizenship training are not strongly demanded by the parents and are hardly present in educational proposals.

are included (see An Optimistic repertoire of imaginary futures for children in the chapter five).

Further to this strategic view, the importance that the parents attribute to these types of experiences is also related to the possession and activation of the cultural and symbolic capital to which they aspire at this point of their class formation process. Here it is important to bring in Bourdieu's dual idea of inherited and acquired resources in relation to cultural capital. As Harris and Wise (2012:492) state "while Bourdieu argues that cultural codes are subtly learned through socialization for those in inherited elite status, it is also possible to acquire those codes through "instruments of cultural communication" (Bourdieu 1977:187)". For those not of inherited elite status, as the families of our sample, systematic exposure to the "instruments" can allow "particular groups to practice primitive accumulation of cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1977:187). Before analysing the participation of children in after-school activities as instruments for cultural capital accumulation¹⁵⁸ I want to stress the process of the parents' awareness of the need for this kind of capital for their process of social mobility and how it has emerged in their own socialization process.

Some parents' narratives show how specific experiences led them to be aware of the existence of different tastes and lifestyles in different social groups as well as the limitations of their own main socialization contexts (family, neighbourhood, school, university) for the development and accumulation of them (these mainly refer to tastes and lifestyles of middle class). It is clearly expressed by Mrs. Chura in her account of a childhood anecdote:

"One day my friend's father picked us up from school. We had to cover a great distance from the school [located in a middle class neighborhood] to my home [located in a peripheral neighbourhood]. Then, my friend's father began to tell us about the Gulf War (1991). He was well-informed and educated and I thought, wow! This kind of conversation doesn't happen very often, I had never heard anything like this from my father, for example. He was more ignorant about these kinds of things. By contrast my friend's father really had a lot of information because he was a lecturer at the Pacifico University [very prestigious private university]. I realized then that he transmitted many things to his daughter because he had a lot of information and knowledge. If we had had this kind of experience, these kinds of conversations, maybe things would have been different for us" (Mrs. Chura, School A)

¹⁵⁸ It is necessary to mention that as Harris and Wise (2012:492) notice, while Bourdieu talks about cultural capital in terms of elite arts, "there is a complementary approach, cultural repertoires (Barnett and Allen 2000, Fisk 1987, Swidler 2001), in which popular culture plays a role". The after-school activities analyzed in this study referred to these cultural repertoires. Carrying out these activities have given RMC children (and parents) the opportunity to become familiar with new places such as museums, conservatories, music schools, theatres.

Further evidence of this awareness is when the parents compare the living conditions and opportunities to which their generation and the current generation of their children have been exposed. In their comparison, in addition to referring to material conditions, they also mentioned different lifestyles, patterns of socialization and consumption of cultural artefacts to which each generation has been exposed and which configure different frameworks of opportunities and constraints. The quotation below makes reference to embodied cultural capital that is currently inculcated in children through the family, a condition that the parents did not have:

“My children know and are going to know a million more things than what I knew at their age because we (parents) transmit what we know, we talk to them, we teach them... and everything in their learning process is reinforced by what they learn at school. They (children) have access to TV, while I only had the radio, to computers, to books. My eldest son sees me reading and sits down to read with me, he knows the stories I tell him. I didn’t know any of that when I was his age. I teach him how to play, my father never taught me, it was different” (Mr. Soto, School B)

Returning to after-school activities, the parents mentioned the ‘social value’¹⁵⁹ that these experiences have in relation to the abilities, tastes and patterns of socialization that they develop, stressing the potential all this has in contributing to their children’s integration into different social and/or academic circles to which they aspire to belong in the future, specifically the university. For them, participation in after-school activities increases the likelihood that their children will successfully transition from one educational level to another. In some cases this strategic objective is very clear and explicit as Mr. Chura expresses: *“Of course! That is why it is so important that they should participate in all these activities”* (Mr. Chura, School A). Their own experiences have taught them the importance of developing abilities and tastes to interact effectively with others in different social settings. As Harris and Wise (2012:494) suggest “when people change environments or positions (i.e. enter a different field in Bourdieu’s terms), their existing habitus may no longer be appropriate and they must adopt a modified habitus to catch up with the change”. The parents want to prevent their children from being exposed to the difficult experiences which their generation had to go through when they moved to environments with unfamiliar rules. It is clearly expressed in Mrs. Miranda’s narrative when her younger sister entered a prestigious private university:

¹⁵⁹ This is the term used by the parents to refer to these extra academic activities

“My younger sister wanted to go to the Catholic University [one of the most prestigious private universities in the country]. She worked pretty hard for that, she ‘left her soul’ in her efforts to enter until finally she achieved it (...). About her experience at University she told me something that I’ll never forget, it remains deeply set in my mind. She told me that it was a big shock for her to go there. She had received a state education but her friends and class mates came from private schools. So they were fluent in English, they played musical instruments, they knew about art, practiced sports, did everything!...and my sister said to me I don’t know anything!, I haven’t been educated for any of that! She clearly felt at a disadvantage, it was as if she had entered another very different world than the one she lived in, in my neighborhood in the Rimac [low-income neighborhood in Lima]. Even the way they talked was different!... it was a really big shock (...). Her description is something that I’ll always remember. So, I was marked by this experience, and knowing that my children will want to study at the Catholic University I have given them the chance to practice sports, go to workshops, do art...so that they’ll be well-prepared, because sport, music or art always facilitate integration, don’t they?” (Mrs. Miranda, School A)

This narrative is a clear example of the lack of fit between habitus and field that “can bring habitus to the fore, causing one to feel like a fish out of water and rendering conscious what was previously taken for granted” (Sweetman 2009:494). The lack of familiarity with specific social norms, of an understanding of the codes within the cultural repertoires, and of the ability to interact effectively with others made Mrs. Miranda’s sister unsure of what to do and how to behave, and, as is especially emphasised, felt a strong sense of exclusion from that social setting. The awareness of all this has led the parents to generate conditions to overcome this disjuncture in their children’s generation. In this way, the participation in different after-school activities aims to facilitate important transitions recovering the ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu 1990b) and implies modifying their habitus.

The investment in after-school activities for the children’s generation is also related to the process of transformation of capital. As Bourdieu (1986b:157) explains “the different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, but only at the cost of a more or less great effort of transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question”. Through the accumulation of economic capital the RMC children from the consolidated group can currently access spaces and activities to acquire cultural and social capital¹⁶⁰. The transformation is possible because these RMC families can now guarantee their children free time without the burden of financial need. This has not happened with the families from the precarious group who do not have the financial resources for these kinds of activities. Additionally, the offer of after-school activities is very limited in their location.

¹⁶⁰ According to Bourdieu (1986b:141) “cultural capital manages to combine the prestige of innate property with the merits of acquisition”

A final important aspect that needs to be stressed is how the option for these after-school activities becomes automatic, taken for granted, commonplace. Similarly to what was found by Lauder et al. (1999:27) about the decision to go to university, “parents do not need explicitly to push their children, there is simply a climate of expectation which may be unspoken. In this sense it is a matter of class, not only family background, because it is the school, the peer group and the family which all hold these expectations”. This is clearly expressed by Mrs Chura when she states that everyone sends their children to do these activities, but most importantly, that it is not possible to explain why parents would not send their children:

"Currently this looks like a competition! If your children don't participate [in an after-school activity] really I would not be able to say why. Every child is participating in one or another of these extra-academic activities. Children are running from one activity to another, they are not at home (...) When I pick them up from school [she has a school transportation business] they tell me Madam I want to go fast because I have football later, or music lessons...At least half the children participate in different workshops. I see that parents are doing more for their children" (Mrs. Chura, School A)

As Bourdieu (1997:33) affirms, “one of the functions of the notion of habitus is to account for the unity of style which unites the practices and goods of a single agent or class of agents (...) The habitus is this generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices”. In the same fashion, Teese (2000:103-4) states “the cultural activities of the middle class, that is to say, the objects of its ‘free’ consumption as well as the style of consumption peculiar to it, are the means which at the same time frame a system of internal reference, a symbolic and communicative order of self-recognition. The ‘formalization’ of this culture is its constitution as an inherently valuable order, not contingent upon the mere preference, passing interest or taste of a particular group”.

Conclusion. In relation to the habitus formation process, it is possible to recognize again how this has been transforming through the parents’ and children’s generations with similarities and differences between RMC fractions. For both the option of a state school which they traditionally attended was ruled out, and the choice for private education became the only alternative for their children as is clearly manifested in the expression “*Why would I send my children to a state school?*”. The preference for private schools is in part a consequence of the crisis of the state school whose poor quality most of the parents have themselves experienced. But it is also the result of a strong stigmatization of state schools that currently have become residual institutions for those not able to pay for education. Thus, private schools not only offer greater likelihood of their children going on to higher

studies (the current aspiration for both fractions) but also play a significant role through social, cultural and symbolic capital, which may be accumulated and thus facilitate the construction of metaphorical qualities or status (especially relevant for the consolidated fraction in their search for inclusion). Additionally because choosing a private school allows RMC families to be differentiated from those they do not wish to be associated with: parents who send their children to state schools and who represents the 'others'.

Moreover, it is important to highlight that the transformation of RMC habitus for this generation not only involves the change in the disposition from state to private school provision but also a change in a set of socialization patterns, tastes and preferences which cohere symbolically to form a whole, a type of 'lifestyle' different to that which characterized the previous generation. This system of dispositions is partially shared by both RMC fractions, but some of the dispositions are exclusive for the consolidated group demonstrating differences in their social trajectories. Thus, the disposition for private schooling is complemented by a greater presence of the parents in their children's upbringing and the active involvement of the mothers in their children's education as a new habitus that replaces the previous one mainly focused on their dedication to domestic tasks, their children's upbringing and their capacity to supplement income provision. This is shared by both RMC fractions. Additionally, in the consolidated group new dispositions include: (ii) the value of entrepreneurialism as a class identity mark that parents also seek in the school in what may be called an alignment between class habitus and school habitus; and (iii) the active participation of children in after-school activities that provide them with skills, tastes and familiarity with social rules to facilitate their transition and sense of belong to future social settings, especially at prestigious private universities. Parents expect that their children will be able to feel sure about what to do and how to behave, that is, have a clear 'feel for the game'.

FOURTH PART

CHAPTER 7. THE INFLUENCE OF THE BROADER CONTEXT IN THE RMC HABITUS FORMATION PROCESS. FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE: A 'NATURAL' TRANSITION FOR SELF- ENTERPRISING CITIZENS

Continuing with the objective of understanding how and why, over time, the disposition for individual responsibility in the provision of educational services has emerged in the RMC, this chapter focuses on how this emergence has been also influenced by the broader context of the political and economic mentality that has prevailed and directed both government and citizen practices, in this case, the Peruvian state and this particular social sector. While the previous chapter put emphasis on the influence of the RMC process of upward social mobility as a context for the formation of habitus, this chapter considers, in a complementary way, how a relationship characterized by the prevalence of an absent and exclusionary state and, also, of the political economy of neoliberalism with its emphasis on markets and its encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains, have also influenced the rise of the individual disposition for the provision of educational services in the RMC.

For the analysis I use Foucault's concept of governmentality to explain how rationality and prevalent practices in the relation between the Peruvian state and the RMC since their origins until their consolidation in this last decade have involved a particular production of subjectivity. As Olssen et al, 2004 argue, it is expressed in the establishment of a concomitant discourse that permeates and gives rise to a dominant common sense where they – the RMC – conceive themselves “not as citizens with claims on the state but as self-enterprising citizen-subjects who are obligated to emerge as entrepreneurs of themselves” (Ong 2006:14). In examining this route for structuring subjectivities I consider the importance of understanding the nature of governmental rationality operating in a dialectical manner in the domain of government and citizenship with each exerting an influence on the other (Brown 2003, Lemke 2007). It is an attempt to reconcile agency-structure relations since as Scott (2010:79) argues, “complete explanations of social events and processes cannot be

reduced to the intentions and beliefs of agents without reference to structural forms, or to structural properties without reference to the intentions and beliefs of agents”.

In order to explore the production of this subjectivity I examine the experiences of the state of the parents interviewed regarding different sectors, not only education, which include health, housing, safety and security, and transport. This approach is based on what Lemke (2001:196) suggests: “the state is not only a material structure and a mode of thinking, but also a lived and embodied experience, a mode of existence”. The parents’ narratives refer to an absent or limited state in the provision of public services but also to the different practices adopted by the RMC to replace it as well as the rationality that underlies these practices. In this point I assume Binkley’s position who argues that “in much recent work on governmentality, the emphasis has fallen on the institutional logics, the assemblages, technologies and *dispositifs*, as Foucault called them, through which the rationalities of neoliberal governmentality invest populations, while less emphasis has been placed on the practical, ethical work¹⁶¹ individuals perform on themselves in their effort to become more agentic, decisionistic, voluntaristic and vital market agents” (Binkley 2009:68). Following this, I consider the dynamic practices through which a particular configuration of neoliberal governmentality has been incorporated putting emphasis in both governmental technologies¹⁶² and the ethical practices of the RMC referred to by Binkley.

In the practices mentioned by the parents from both fractions they repeatedly assume responsible entrepreneurial behaviours and self-care in coherence with an interiorized self-enterprising discourse that also reflects an alignment with market principles for the provision of education services. These are aspects that characterize neo-liberal subjects¹⁶³ (Lemke 2001, 2007, Brown 2003, Ong 2006). However, I highlight the different context, conditions and ways in which these particular aspects of the neo-liberal subject have emerged in the case of the Peruvian RMC in comparison with those that arise from western and liberal contexts. The aim is to examine the parents’ discourse because they express a particular form of subjectivity that influences their disposition for individual provision of educational services. In the first section of this chapter evidences of a prevalent discourse that refer to an absent and failed state as well as the emergence of entrepreneurial citizens are

¹⁶¹ As Binkley (2009:62) suggests “these practices are ethical in the sense that Foucault used the term in his later work: they involve daily work performed upon specific objects or features of the self -held to be problematic”

¹⁶² These refer to “the complex of mundane programmes, calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions” (Rose 1992:175)

¹⁶³ It is worth noticing that by this I am not stating that the RMC parents interviewed are neo-liberal subjects but, rather, that they have adopted part of the neoliberal subjectivity expressed in certain practices, discourse and common sense that prevail in neo-liberal citizens

presented, and the rationality that underlies them. Next, the process of structuring subjectivities is discussed putting in dialogue the emergence of this discourse with, on the one hand, the historical relationship between the Peruvian state and the RMC, and, on the other hand, the salient characteristics of the broader context of the political economic mentality of neoliberalism. In the second section specific RMC discourse and practices are analysed demonstrating the infiltration of and alignment to market-driven truths in the domain of education.

7.1 A discredited state and the emergence of self-enterprising citizens

¿Where is the State? The image of an absent and discredited State

Given the different experiences of schooling in the state sector described in the previous chapters and the recognition of a progressive deterioration of state education services, what prevails in the discourse of the parents interviewed is a great mistrust in both the capacity as well as the willingness of the state to provide good quality and sustainable services for education:

“The state is willing and sometimes has good initiatives but these initiatives are almost never carried out and completed because these are no state policies, so when governments change the initiatives also change, there isn’t any continuity...” (Mr. Escobal, School A)

“In fact the state cannot administer services like education and health, how to put it, their management of them has gone downhill. And that is very clear in our minds, I think it’s already in our group, we are convinced of that, that’s why we say that we have to pay and in all the countries in the world I think that if they want a good education, they have to invest in it, right?” (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

There are different aspects that are important to remark in the previous quotations. The first is the strong sense of state failure in the provision of educational services (*‘that is very clear in our minds’*). Secondly, the ‘natural’ assumption that if the state fails, families have to pay for or invest in the provision of services. In this reasoning, the family becomes responsible and transforms the provision of services into a problem of self-care. The third aspect is how this kind of reasoning seems be attributed to this particular social group which is expressed through the use of pronouns such as “we” or “our” to refer its interiorization (*‘we are convinced of’* or *‘that is very clear in our group’*). Finally, how the practice ‘to pay for education’ attempts to be justified by making it common practice extensive *‘to all the*

countries in the world’. The following quotations also illustrate very well the reasoning that has led parents to assume individual responsibility in the provision of educational services given the failure of the state to do so:

*“If the state doesn’t respond to my needs, then one has to look for the solutions oneself and we are taking them on, we are willing to take on this responsibility”
(Mr. Miranda, School A)*

“We have a deaf state. If parents or teachers from state schools are not listened to, could you imagine the state listening to us [parents from private schools] that are out of the state system? No way!! Then unfortunately families are looking for other options. I think that this is not indifference but we have to solve the situation of our family!” (Mrs. Soto, School B)

The apparent ‘natural’ willingness with which RMC families actively participate in the solution of specific matters and problems in relation to educational provision which had hitherto been the domain of state agencies is remarkable. This would be supported by, on the one hand, their historical relationship with the Peruvian state since, as Toche (2009) affirms, this social group rose without the “shadow” of the state or, in any case, with a precarious or limited shadow. On the other hand, the RMC have had progressively more resources available (especially economic capital) and they are financially competent to pay for services (which is clearer for the consolidated fraction). Likewise, the market has increasingly offered a greater diversity of alternatives, all of which has facilitated the replacement of the state by private services.

The limitations of the state as provider are at present so interiorized and firmly established in the parents’ minds that in some cases they have not even considered that the provision of these services might be the responsibility of the state, and in relation to which they would have the right to demand. In the process of group discussions, when parents were asked why they had decided to pay for private schools instead of demanding that the state provide better services, the awareness of this right emerged in a reflective way:

*“I mean, I only now realize that I would have to demand, why do I have to pay for this private school if I pay my taxes??! I mean one should demand this from the state, you know what? Give me a good education. The question is how do we demand this? By not paying our taxes? I don’t know how to make the state notice that I need good health, a good education and here are my taxes...
...mmm...it’s my right, isn’t it? (Mr. Chura, School A)*

This image of a discredited state as provider of public services is not only limited to the education sector, but is also widespread in other ones. Parents were asked about their experiences of the State as service provider in sectors such as health, housing, transport and security. Although in their responses it was possible to find more diverse and nuanced positions in relation to state services, in general, the image of an absent, failed and/or limited state also prevail for both fractions. These positions range from the categorical rejection of a service, which, because it is provided by the state is classified as bad or terrible, to the recognition of positive experiences in very specific services, opting in these cases to combine state and private services as a solution to cover their necessities:

"To my wife everything related to the State stinks, she doesn't want to have anything to do with the State" (Mr. Castro, School B)

"I did not agree with using the state service to care for the health of our children. My wife insisted, and things have gone well [she uses a combination of state and private healthcare services]. I was doubtful because everything related to the State is wrong but I have come to realize that not everything is bad... Because of my profession [lawyer] I had experience in the judicial system, which is crazy, too much corruption! That was enough, I don't want to have anything to do with the state" (Mr. Soto, School B)

We believe that the attention at Essalud [State Health Insurance System] is good in difficult situations, for surgery for example, because they have good professionals. But for simpler situations, the flu, for example, the service is terrible, rubbish! They don't give you appointments on time, they don't have medicines and so you have to go to a private doctor" (Mr. Llerena, A School)

Even when in their narratives the parents mention positive experiences with satisfactory results in specific state services these are considered an "exception"; or they have managed to have access to them thanks to contacts, or after great insistence or a long waiting period, all of which have entailed investing a lot of time, effort and financial resources as citizens. The following quotations illustrate all these different situations¹⁶⁴:

"Once, my ship left port and we were left stranded at sea because the engine broke down and we could not sail. The ship was many miles away, and we reported it to the captaincy. They came out, found the boat and brought it to the port. That service was provided by a State entity, but it was an exception, it is a positive experience but it is an exception, an exception..." (Mr. Chura, School A)

¹⁶⁴ It is worth noticing that a few of the parents had better experiences of the State as employer in terms to access to a stable income and social security, and training for their professional career

"If you ask my brother he will tell you that the State hospital has good services. His daughter is alive thanks to the hospital's services. But she received preferential attention because her mother is a nurse at the hospital and has contacts" (Mrs. Meza, School B)

"Yes, the State gave us the property deeds once we had organized ourselves and after a lot of struggle. We organized a lot of meetings, protest marches asking for the deeds so they would pay attention to us, notice us and they used tear gas to scare us away! (..) . We also had to draw up guidelines, pay for the plans to be made and all the legal documents, so it was not free... And still now, we want green areas, good stairways to go up to our houses, beautiful areas for the children and the State does not give us them" (Mr. Porton, School B)

".. Even people that have access to State housing programs through a lottery system, I remember Mr. Raúl Peña that won the housing lottery and went to live with his family in a very nice residential complex in Comas [district in North Lima]. But he says that the construction and the finishes were bad, the paint of the walls began to peel, the electrical cables crossed... They had not used good materials or had not done a good job.... so there were good intentions but there are things that the State does not control" (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

This denigration regarding what the Peruvian State and its institutions can do for this social sector is broadly recognized (Lopez 1997, Toche 2009, Vergara 2013, Cotler 2013), and is also expressed by Yamada (Yamada y Cuba 2013) when he affirms that "we have a middle class that disregards everything the State may offer them because they consider it to be of poor quality, and that disregards political discussion because it is of no interest to them as the State does not systematically offer them anything hopeful". In the next section an analysis will be made of how their experiences of an absent, failed or limited state is closely connected with the rise of the RMC as self-enterprising citizens.

*'Progressive' citizens and the entrepreneurial discourse*¹⁶⁵

"We receive no support from the State; what we have is thanks to our own efforts. We have progressed due to the effort we have made, on our own... and we owe our health to God because He gives it to us" (Mr. Porton, School B)

One of the most distinguishing aspects of the RMC, which has also been the most analysed although essentially from an econometric perspective of marketing and consumption, is its

¹⁶⁵ Notice along this section the particular meaning that progressive has for this social sector which differs from the liberal connotations related to the struggle for individual liberties and freedom, and opposed to conservatism

portrayal as progressive. Although Arellano, one of the most important Peruvian middle class researchers, used this term to refer to one of the lifestyles that characterize the Peruvian urban population¹⁶⁶, the term was also recurrently used by the parents interviewed. Arellano (2010) describes progressive people as active, vigorous and hard-working. They are always in search of personal or family progress, depending on the stage they are at. They permanently maintain the “hope” of improving their situation and progressing. They build their own future. They are relatively individualistic, optimistic, proactive, geared towards achievement, organized, self-willed and with high expectations for their future. They believe that success is achieved through effort and skill, more than through financial resources. They seek economic liberalism, but above all, that they should “be allowed to work”. Progressive people see education as a means to progress and achieve social mobility (Arellano 2010).

The stories narrated by the parents precisely talk about these kinds of progressive people, of self-made subjects that vindicate themselves and are empowered through personal effort and by incorporating self-entrepreneurship as a lifestyle. In previous chapters, an analysis has been made of how the awareness of their social value as entrepreneurial people that have got ahead in life under their own steam provides them with a strong sense of pride and identity. In relation to this widespread entrepreneurial discourse especially in the RMC, Garcia (2006:145) states that this is mainly due to “the motivation to embark on successful economic activities through instilling individual initiative, the cult of personal effort and the struggle against adversity, disregarding all social determinism”. Thus, such a discourse permeates and gives rise to a dominant common sense where success mainly depends on individual effort and initiative. As Portocarrero (2000:571) argues “this social order, allegedly based on effort and merit, is thus taken as natural (...), it happens of its own accord and does not depend on anyone’s will”.

The parents interviewed also added another crucial component to their ‘progressivism’ which is linked with the idea of dispensing with the State, their mistrust of the State, and their effort to “transform themselves from socially dependent subjects into [a kind of] neoliberal agents” (Binkley 2009:63, the square brackets were added by me). This is specially

¹⁶⁶ Arellano uses lifestyle as a way of classifying people “based on finding in society those groups of people that are similar to each other on the basis of how each of them is, how they act and think, and their similarities in some demographic or social characteristics such as gender, occupation, the level of modernity, their attitude towards life, and in some cases, their income level” (Arellano 2010:13). Arellano uses this lifestyle classification given that the segmentation by income and the possession of assets were not only insufficient but also inadequate because of the heterogeneity that prevails in this group. In Peru he describes six lifestyles: sophisticated, progressive, modern, adapted, conservative and resigned.

emphasized by the parents from the consolidated fraction. According to this perspective, as the following quotation illustrates, the search for state aid becomes negative because it is interpreted as dependence and completely contrary to their search for autonomy:

"Within my social environment – my friends or my colleagues – we solve everything, we don't expect the State to do it. I see my neighbors from Comas or Collique [other rising district in North Lima], they don't do anything not even a sidewalk. They don't do it because they say "The State has to do that"... They are conformists and expect everything to be done by the State... They are not like us, we look for progress by ourselves, and we make the effort. So, there are these two sectors: one that expects the State to give them everything, and the other that doesn't expect anything but seeks change on their own accord in order to have what they want because they know that if they wait for the State they will not be able to progress"
(Mother, School A)

I would like to stress two rationalities that can be inferred from this mother's discourse. The first is related to her clear differentiation between 'progressive' people and 'conformists'. While the former take care of themselves and their needs in a process through which they "invigorate the body and the spirit dissolving dependency and assuming full autonomy" (Binkley 2009:67); the latter maintain their dependency on the State expecting to receive everything from it. The second powerful reasoning is expressed in the kind of opinion with which the mother concludes: the association between maintaining state dependency and the impossibility of emerging ('*they know that if they wait for the State they will not be able to progress*'). Vargas Llosa (2012) in an article about one of the most representative entrepreneurial markets in Lima called Gamarra, also emphasized this autonomous character when stating that the emergence of these people has been characterized by the non-presence of the State and the need for people to create or invent their own jobs: "Without a doubt, in these few blocks more wealth and more commercial transactions are produced than in any other place in Peru. And here there has been no state or government, no formal financial institutions, no bank loans or formal regulations. All this is the creation of poor people from the provinces, who escaping from hunger, homelessness and violence, left their Andean villages and, as they did not find in the capital (Lima) the job that they were seeking, they had to invent it".

Thus, it is clear that in this "progressivism" that the parents interviewed attribute to themselves, they do not depend on the State to emerge, but fend for themselves, or in any case depend on the will of God as Mr. Porton indicates in the quotation at the beginning of this section. That is, a self-made, autonomous and entrepreneurial subject of himself or

herself¹⁶⁷. As Portocarrero (2000:573) argues "the assertion of a figure as a structuring principle of subjectivity supposes the rejection of aspects of reality which are then considered abject". The "progressive" subject repudiates what he or she considers the lack of will and passivity of those that continue to be dependent on the state, the "conformists".

How has this 'progressive' citizen discourse emerged?

In this section I want to place emphasis on the particular context, conditions and ways in which the dominant discourse about these particular aspects of the neo-liberal citizens have emerged. As was already mentioned, the emergence of neo-liberal citizens in liberal democracies – where Foucault's concept of governmentality has mainly been used (Lemke 2001, Brown 2003, Olssen 2006) – is primarily explained as follows: "the crisis of Keynesianism and the reduction in forms of welfare intervention therefore lead less to the state losing powers of regulation and control (in the sense of zero-sum game) and can instead be construed as a re-organization or re-structuring of government techniques, shifting the regulatory competence of the state onto "responsible" and "rational" individuals" (Lemke 2001: 201). All this through politics that privileged the 'improvement' of the population and its constitution as self-regulating free subjects who undertake tasks which had hitherto been the domain of specialized state agencies (Lemke 2007).

However, the history of the relationship between the Peruvian state and the RMC is very different. Far from the RMC having experienced something similar to a welfare state that guarantees the provision of good quality state services¹⁶⁸, or policies that aimed at satisfying the concerns and interests of this social group, the Peruvian RMC has been constantly excluded from this kind of State involvement at different points along their trajectory. As a consequence, their history is characterized by the repeated attempts of this social sector to organize themselves to replace an absent or failed State. At this point, I want to present a brief summary of the RMC trajectory stressing particular aspects of their relationship with the state and the prevalence of neo-liberalism which, I argue, have influenced the formation of a

¹⁶⁷ This is consistent with the discourse of the successful person studied by Portocarrero (2000:572) according to which "there are no limits to what can be achieved if one pursues it with sufficient vigour, if one is really willing to give oneself to it fully and persist in spite of the obstacles".

¹⁶⁸ Authors such as Sagasti, Prada and Bazán (2007) consider that during the 70's there was the beginning of a welfare state but this was never consolidated; other authors such as Barrientos (2004) talk about liberal-informal welfare state regimes to characterize Latin American regimes which include a countervailing social policy logic (welfare state), a more market-oriented welfare system (liberal regime) and where much of the population in rural and urban informal sectors are excluded thus relying on an informal security system.

prevalent autonomous and entrepreneurial discourse of themselves as subjects ¹⁶⁹. This review allows us to understand how subjectivities have been formed:

In general, in the typology of Latin American states that Filgueira (2005) presents using the theory of welfare regimes, Peru is described as having followed a trajectory from dual to exclusionary development. The dual form of political and social incorporation reflects heterogeneity in terms of inclusion, where “in some provinces and regions there is an important development of the formal market, the state and social protection while, in other provinces, there is a virtual exclusionary system with very low incorporation of the vast majority of the population” (Filgueira 2005: 24). In the exclusionary form, “professionals, a very small number of formal workers and public officials are those that, typically, benefit under these models. The vast majority of the population is excluded” (Filgueira 2005: 31).

In the particular trajectory of the RMC at the time of their origins they benefited to a certain extent, from the expansion of public services (see previous chapter). However, during their emergence in the eighties the country was going through economic recession and one of the most severe socio-political crisis that culminated in a near collapse of the State. As Lopez (1997:286) affirms “society suffered the absence of the State when it most needed it”. Despite these adverse conditions, the RMC emerged mainly resorting to the informal economy that allowed them to meet their needs and begin a process of economic accumulation. As Garcia (2006:142) explains regarding a similar phenomenon that occurred in Mexico, at that time, “the economic situation favoured the expansion of self-employment given the national economy’s incapacity to absorb the (skilled and non-skilled) labour supply. Individuals were deprived of the opportunity of finding a place in society through paid employment, and so, had to find the strength to overcome uncertainty in the spirit of success”.

Subsequently, during the 90’s the country recovered from the crisis initiating a market-oriented restructuring through Structural Adjustment Policies whose main reforms were directed at privatization and liberalization, the disassembly of the promotional role of the State, the reduction and flexibility of labour legislation and the encouragement of private investment in social industries, education in particular (Remy 2010, Sagasti et al. 2007). As in other Latin American countries, also in Peru the governments selectively adopted neo-liberal forms and exercised different ways of treating the population to achieve the reforms, promoting their autonomy or their dependency. Thus, on the one hand, the package of

¹⁶⁹ A more extended version of this trajectory is included in the Background Chapter. Also some aspects of the particular relationship with the state have been analysed in the previous two chapters

structural adjustments together with the economic and political reforms also included “the promotion of the idea of success based on individual effort and discipline within the framework of a meritocratic system which led to the consolidation of a social conception of entrepreneurialism which became part of the mainstream thinking of the time” (Cuenca 2014:261-62). This discourse was especially relevant to a social group such as the RMC which had been emerging through their own efforts, through self-employment and working in the informal sector “overcoming the hostility of the state to rise, and with their effort pulling up the country as a whole” (Portocarrero 2000:579) On the other hand, the State used part of the revenue generated from the privatization process and resources from international donors for the implementation of aggressive assistential policies for poverty alleviation aimed at the most vulnerable population, the poor, who continued to be dependent on the State (Sagasti et al. 2007, Remy 2010).

Finally, in the last decade, the expansion of the RMC has occurred in the context of a country with continuous economic growth to which this social sector has contributed. However, the State has not made serious efforts to contribute to the RMC consolidation or capitalization (Toche 2012 (*pers comm.*) 12 July)¹⁷⁰. Contrary to other Latin American countries, such as Brazil or Chile, where the RMC has benefited from both the expansion of redistribution policies that have provided them with networks of social protection as well as inclusion policies through the improvement of public services (De Oliveira 2010, Mendez 2010), in the case of Peru although an entrepreneurial culture is promoted, these kinds of policies have not been implemented¹⁷¹ and informal welfare is provided via family and household strategies (Barrientos 2004, Arellano 2008, Toche 2010, OCDE/ECLAC 2012, Cotler 2013).

According to the trajectory of this RMC, the historical sedimentations accumulated in their bodies¹⁷² are ways “in which one is told that one should govern oneself” (Binkley 2009:76), or at least that one should succeed through one’s own efforts. Thus, it is possible to argue that the historical performance of the Peruvian State with this social group has generated a strong sense of distrust in relation to the State, and has influenced in the construction of the RMC as entrepreneurial subjects of themselves. This has also been reinforced by the prevalence of the political economy of neoliberalism. The logic that underlies this is “you can do it on your own, you do not need the State” (Cotler 2013), a call for subjects to become

¹⁷⁰ Although in this sector many have made the transition from informal to entrepreneurial work, a high rate of informality still prevails

¹⁷¹ Policies that aim at satisfying the concerns and interests of the RMC with a social policy system that care for them in terms of labour laws, social security, a public health system and so on.

¹⁷² The body is understood as “the repository of historical inscriptions” (Binkley 2009:75)

autonomous individuals. As Rose (1996:159) points out “autonomy is about taking control of our undertakings, defining our goals, and planning to achieve our needs through our own powers”.

Another key aspect of this logic is the association between becoming an ‘autonomous’ subject and the probability of emerging as opposed to the logic of continuing to be dependent on the State which would lead to the reproduction of limited living conditions. As Portocarrero (2000:56) affirms “there is a tendency to suppose that aid to the needy becomes a way of perpetuating their condition and impeding their development. That is to say, aid can plunge them into the abyss of failure”. Under this logic the services provided by the State are understood as residual institutions for those that are not able to pay, for those who lack a family that may truly take care of them, that is, these are services for the poor. According to this perspective, using these services not only condemns one to a greater likelihood of services of poorer standards but, what is worse, to continue in conditions of poverty and exclusion. This would explain, in part, the increase of a RMC that opts out of State services.

At this point I want to turn the discussion to how this subjectivity is produced. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, the neo-liberal rationality (expresses in this case through the promotion of this entrepreneurial and autonomous subject) “does not presume the ontological givenness”, which means that it does not emerge as purely natural (Brown 2003:4). Such a rationality needs to be developed, disseminated and institutionalized. In liberal democracies, neo-liberal dispositions have been fostered by state interventions through institutional forms of self-government, that is, “a state capable of creating through its own programmes and initiatives the voluntaristic, entrepreneurial and self-responsible dispositions upon which market forms depend” (Binkley 2009:68)¹⁷³. In the case of Peru it is possible to identify these programmes and initiatives – that constitute the technologies of government – which include affirmative policies to support and stimulate the entrepreneurial model and culture¹⁷⁴, the promotion of Peru as an entrepreneurial country¹⁷⁵, or the recent inclusion of entrepreneurial competences in the national school curriculum (MED 2014) among others.

¹⁷³ This also applies in emerging countries such as Asian ones through their differential ways of treating the population. As Ong (2006:79) states “the mix of market calculations and ethnic governmentality means that varied populations are subjected to different technologies of disciplining, regulation, and pastoral care”

¹⁷⁴ Although there are still serious shortcomings in the development of formalization and institutionality in a prominent informal sector, or in the promotion of adequate conditions of competition

¹⁷⁵ Peru has earned one of the first places around the world among countries with the greatest rates of entrepreneurial activity (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor)

However, I argue that the prevalence of a widespread entrepreneurial culture in Peru is also, to a greater extent, a response to the emergence of the individual practices of entrepreneurialism in which the population is actively involved. These practices involve daily work “individuals performed on themselves in their effort to become more agentic, decisionistic, voluntaristic and vital market agents” (Binkley 2009:68). This is reflected in the diverse manifestations where this entrepreneurial spirit and culture is validated in the society, and includes:

- the development of a large number of entrepreneurial initiatives in different sectors promoted by the business community, citizens and NGOs;
- the different events and discussion forums where the entrepreneurial model is discussed as well as the competitions sponsored by the business community and the universities to reward entrepreneurial initiatives (that not only includes the business world but also the social field through the promotion of social entrepreneurs);
- the promotion of the entrepreneurial model in the media through programs that provide encouragement, guidance and advice on how to implement entrepreneurial initiatives, or the broadcasting of “success stories”, which are often idealized and inspire television series with large audiences, where the principle characters are entrepreneurial models (Mil Oficios, Dina Paucar, the fight for a dream, Gamarra, etc)
- the boom in so-called inspirational literature which appeals to “the search to overcome the social obstacles that burden agents under the appearance of the strength and potentiality of individual capacities”¹⁷⁶ (Garcia 2006:145)

Thus, it is in the area of government and citizenship, each exerting an influence on the other that this entrepreneurial discourse and culture is installed as evident and indestructible. It is not the state that imposes, citizens also exert an active role to incorporate a specific common sense that emerges and is validated in particular practices “functioning as an array of meanings which conditions the possible interpretations” (Portocarrero 2000:577)

A final reflection in relation to entrepreneurialism in the RMC is that while it has been celebrated by influential Latin American neoliberals who extol this previously informal sector excluded from the influence of the state as model entrepreneurs who demonstrate that a

¹⁷⁶ This literature not only includes international authors such as Paulo Coelho or Deepak Chopra but also a long list of local authors such as Inés Temple (Usted S.A), Nano Guerra Garcia, (El Secreto del Carajo), Freddy Ternerero (Si se puede), Daniel Córdova (Los nuevos héroes peruanos, lecciones de vida de emprendedores que derrotaron la pobreza), among others

market system can work in Latin America in the form of “popular capitalism” (De Soto 1989 and Piñera 1993 cited by Weyland 1996). There are also critical voices such as Cotler (2013) and Toche (2009) who see both the absence of the state and the adverse contexts created around the development of the RMC as a “disequilibrium” in the relationship between the RMC and the State. Toche (2009) stresses contradictory effects: due the strong individualism that characterizes this social group the State can be perceived as an intrusive element that interferes with their expectations. But, at the same time, their demands are expressed as complaints against the inefficiency of this State that leaves them in a vulnerable situation.

In the next section I focus on the analysis of the other component of the neo-liberal discourse also present in the parents’ discourse: the prevalence of the market logic in education. As Brown (2003:3) argues “neoliberal rationality, while foregrounding the market, is not only or even primarily focused on the economy; rather it involves extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action”.

7.2 The prevalence of the market logic in education

In a context characterized by a low quality state education system, with a state apparently unable to change it, and a progressive increase in the offer of private education encouraged by the state itself, the market is apparently viewed by most of the RMC families as a ‘salvation’. Vergara (2013:65) expresses very well this common sense that is becoming established in the population when he affirms that “against intuition, in Peru, it is not the state that corrects the failures of the market, but the market that remedies state failings”¹⁷⁷. In this section I analyse how the parents’ discourse and practices in relation to the education of their children are enfolded and animated by market principles. This seeks to show to what extent this kind of neo-liberal discourse is internalized and influences the disposition to assume individual responsibility for the provision of education services.

The alienation with market principles in the provision of education

First of all, in the parents’ discourse prevails the idea that one has to pay if one wants to receive a good quality educational service, dismissing the idea of quality education as a

¹⁷⁷ Regarding the current characteristics of the educational market in Peru it is not possible to affirm that the market is in fact repairing state failings (see Background Chapter and previous analytical chapters).

basic right and assuming it rather as a consumer good (see the first quotation below). It is interesting to notice how some parents assert that this model of education as a consumer good has been installed in the last twenty years, and rule out the idea of demanding the improvement of state education services simply because they “don’t work”. Additionally, only a few critical voices refer to school choice more as a consumption practice than a real search for better educational quality. This is illustrated in the second quotation:

“If you want something good (a good or a service) then you have to pay. This is the model that has been instilled in the last 20 years. If you want quality, you have to pay for it. The assumption that ‘I as a citizen have rights so I should demand the improvement of state services such as education’, doesn’t work. If I want a better education and I have the money to pay for it, paying is the best way. I recognize that it’s simplistic and individualist but apparently it’s the only way that works” (Father, School A)

“The common Peruvian thinks that when something is more expensive it is better. We always measure: ‘this is expensive, so this is good’. Usually we are not concerned about finding out whether it is really good or not. If you ask parents of School X - which is the most expensive here [locality] - why their children are there, they don’t know! They just feel proud to say ‘my child is in this expensive school’ Quality is not an issue!” (Father, School B)

Secondly, in an educational system that is so unequal and stratified as is the Peruvian, the parents are conscious that the quality of the educational service received depends on how much the families can pay. As was presented in the background chapter, there are different ‘circuits of schooling’ in the educational system that comprise schools segmented by cost, reputation and subscription. As Ball et al. (1995:53) state “different groups of parents ‘plug into’ each of the circuits and each circuit empowers its students differently in terms of life chances”.

“Near my house there are neighbours that I recommend this school [her daughter’s school] to and they say to me “look, I think it’s good but I’ve found a similar school where the fees are lower”, so they decide based on financial factors and I say to them, “look, maybe that school is a bit cheaper but if you think about it, the cost of the teachers, if you want the teachers to be good, all that has an influence, doesn’t it? When it costs less that means lower quality, less of everything”. Then they say “yes, but I can’t pay for that”. So everything that is good has a cost, comes at a price, so I think that the cost of the fees at this school means that the people that don’t have the means don’t enroll their children there although they know that that school is good, which it is if you compare it with others” (Mrs. Benites, School A)

As this case illustrates, the degrees of choice are clearly constrained, in the first place, by the families’ purchasing power, which strongly determines which circuit of schooling they

have access to. According to this, choice is a mark of economic privilege. Regarding the perspective of social conflict theorists, the previous quotation shows how the current Peruvian education system is one in which the education market recognizes and rewards economic, cultural and social capital and punishes those without such resources. Thus, in a structure characterized by separate and identifiable socio-economic groups, the more disadvantaged sections of society become concentrated in some schools, while the more advantaged sections are concentrated in others (Lauder et al. 1999). In a similar vein, Brown (1995:24) argues that “education selection is increasingly based on the wealth and wishes of parents rather than the individual abilities and efforts of students” (the ideology of parentocracy). In this context it is more appropriate to understand choice as a constraint rather than freedom.

Thirdly, connected to the idea of having to pay for educational services is the acceptance of the provision of educational services as a type of business where payment is justified to cover the investment made, the costs entailed in the service, and the generation of profit (all them market terms: investment, costs, profit). This idea is especially clear to those parents devoted to their own businesses:

“I see it more than anything else, as the cost of a service that seeks to recover the investment they’re making. We shouldn’t forget that in the end the school is a business that offers us a service and they charge for this service; for those fees I’m going to demand quality” (Mr. Quispe, School A)

The parents’ discourse also shows how the families are learning and making use of strategies and practices that characterize market forces. For example:

“But couldn’t a private company administrate it and the state subsidize these expenses, couldn’t that be done? If it’s administered by a company and there are no results in the education system, bye-bye company because you haven’t administered it well!” (Mrs. Soto, School B)

Another father mentioned that as consumers they need to be able to directly influence the educational institution by having a say in the way it is run or by being able to turn to acceptable alternatives. That is, making use of the alternatives ways of responding to the provision of services –exit voice and loyalty – proposed by Hirschman (1970). In this perspective, parents realize that having to pay for a service gives them the right to claim for quality (voice). Some parents remarked that this is a very different condition in comparison with the state system:

“With the state I have to accept what I’m given, but here (private school) we can change some of the variables, because when I accept what the school offers I can make demands and control it better, I can make demands for my children...” (Mr. Escobal, School A)

They have also learnt how to recognize when an educational service in fact complies or not with what it offers, and according to this, they decide voluntarily to stay or to exit from the schools they consider bad. In this perspective, some parents said that they were willing to accept that like in any business a profit should be made but profit should not be maximized at a cost of not investing in improving the quality of the services. In the latter case they can change in spite of this unsettling their children:

“At the beginning, during pre-school, we were happy with the school. But when our son began primary, although the school continued to offer the Montessori Method and the development of multiple intelligences, we realized that that was only “marketing” and that they were not complying with this. So we decided to change him to School A” (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

“...There should be margins regarding how much it costs to run a school and the profits made and they should not only think about the profit but maintain the quality of what they offer on the basis of what the parents pay” (Mr. Quispe, School A)

“It’s ok, I can pay but if I see that they consider it purely as a business, it’s not so convenient for me (...) That happened to us in the previous school. We were paying but the teachers were leaving, the good ones. What was happening? They were too dedicated to charging, that’s what happened and so we took them out of there” (Mrs. Quispe, School A)

Finally, another aspect that expresses an alignment with market principles is the parents’ preference for choice. As part of the group discussion three scenarios with different educational provision systems were presented to the parents in order for them to choose which they preferred. The first scenario only included one kind of school in the system, the second offered two kinds of school (state and/or private), and the third was a system with a large variety of schools (state and private). Most of the parents from both schools rapidly (and almost automatically) chose the third option because according to them only this provided the opportunities to make ‘real’ choices, drawing a parallel with the current educational system in Peru. Here parents seem to use a ‘libertarian notion of choice for its own sake’ (Erickson 1989 cited by Gorard et al. 2003:14) because with all the many constraints that have been analyzed in the Peruvian system to talk of choice is illusory. As Olssen et al. (2004:199) argue “the promise of increased choice has been a powerful rhetorical element in the legitimation of neoliberal policies”. Only two mothers (one from

each school) firmly decided for the first option based on principles of equal opportunities for all, although they expressed their concern about how to ensure the quality of this single school.

Different ethical positions regarding the market in education

A final interesting aspect examined was the parents' position regarding more ethical and moral considerations than choice and market within the education system, such as those connected to segregation and inequality. As Rose (1998) argues "developing market forms in education and the wider public sphere are producing new kinds of moral subjects" (in Reay et al. 2013:6). The purpose is to focus on "the ethics of the education marketplace as enacted through the principles and practice of middle-class families as they attempt to realize their desires for their children in the immediate and for the future within various social and ethical contexts" (Ball 2003:111). Although all the parents interviewed accepted the market option, there were different positions in relation to the ethics that the education market seeks to legitimize in the practices and perspectives of education users. At least three different positions could be identified: a minority accepted the market option as an inevitable fate. They adopted a critical, concerned but, at the same time, resigned position in relation to segregation and inequality mainly expressed through positional competition notion. A second group were doubtful regarding the role of the market in education expressing dilemmas and ambivalences in their discourse, with a combination of confident and confused voices in relation to market principles. Finally, a third group, which represented the majority of the parents interviewed, accepted inequality and segregation as the "natural" price of the market rationale supported by their unquestionable position of 'putting the family first' (Ball 2003).

- Critical voice and resignation

In the first group we encountered parents that raise a critical voice with respect to the inequality in the access to educational opportunities. They recognized their relative position within a hierarchical system where, on the one hand, they are in a privileged position compared to other lower income groups although, on the other hand, they are at a disadvantage in relation to other groups located above them on the social scale who have access to better circuits of schooling. Education thus becomes an investment good and an 'arena of competition and social exclusion' (Ball 2003:15). Although the parents expressed their rejection of the conditions of a system they consider 'unfair', they are concerned about

the limitations to which their children are exposed in this competitive market. As a consequence, as Mrs. Quispe expresses ‘unfortunately’ this education system ‘obliges me to also want to be there’ in schools that allow them to position themselves better:

“Since we have the criteria to understand what is happening in our country we realize that there’s a complete imbalance in education and this is totally unfair. In other countries education as state policy is one of the most important policies and is given priority, not here. So we as parents think about what we can do in order for our children to have an education that is good enough to allow them to compete with other children who will have a better quality of education. In her school my daughter can develop some skills beyond the academic ones such as English, computing, music... but our neighbour who is the same age cannot! And I feel bad when they play together and my daughter asks me: ‘why doesn’t he know this or that?’... What will happen when my daughter goes and faces the world, and she is not in a position to do so? ... Then she will find that it is she who doesn’t know what this or that is... This is completely unfair”
(Mrs.Chan, School B)

“In Peru each person’s future is going to depend on his financial means and he who doesn’t have the means won’t be able to, because an eight-hour worker on a minimum wage won’t be able to pay for a private school, so what does he do? His child goes to a state school and as the teaching is poor, and his child, try as he might, in contrast to one who has ones child here [at a private school], won’t achieve. Well, I don’t agree with this but unfortunately the system in my country obliges me to also want to be there, unfortunately”
(Mrs. Quispe, School A)

- A ‘quandary’ position

A second group adopts a more doubtful position that includes ambivalences and dilemmas in their discourse, which they are not able to solve because of a complex and confusing reality. Their discourse combines expressions of confidence and certainty with confused, careful and measured declarations. Mr. Llerena’s quotation (below) illustrates all this very well. His account is worth reproducing at some length since it indicates a number of the complexities and contradictions that arise in trying to combine ethics and principles around egalitarianism with the ‘best interests’ for their children . On the one hand, there is an acknowledgment of the importance of good quality education as a right for all, but at the same time he considers that a good quality education service is a good which has to be paid for (education as a right vs. education as a consumer good). He also recognizes that in this scheme access to quality education depends on the purchasing power of the families and that this generates greater exclusion. However, it is inconceivable for him that education of a certain level can be cost-free. In his discourse it is also interesting to see how the notion

of the cost of goods and services is attributed to “rules established in our society, in the economy, in politics itself” in clear allusion of a dominant common sense where ‘a cost is required’. Finally, Mr. Llerena also refers to the tension between adopting an entrepreneurial attitude, according to which it is expected that families will pay for education (autonomous subjects), in contrast to an undesirable state assistance (typical of ‘dependent’ subjects):

“On the issue of education, equality, the right to education as a basic premise, and yes, there are lots of points of view. There are people that continue to defend an education free of charge but there are also many that talk about education as a service that in the end has a price, right? I mean, there are lots of positions depending on the approach. You can talk about the right to education and from that perspective education has to be free, and of the highest quality possible but if you contrast it with the economic situation of the country itself, with all the problems it has, or if you think of countries like Finland which invests a large proportion of its taxes in education and therefore achieves the first places, there are lots of perspectives ... but one thing that cannot be denied is that definitely the amount of money involved widens the gap between the rich and the poor, I mean, this cost that could be the fairest possible because it is the basic price to cover the costs of the service, further widens the gap, it makes the poor more excluded from adequate education levels... what I think the state should do is seek greater investment in state education but it is a very complex issue... well, yes, it is an excluding element, that’s basic but the situation being what it is in our society to offer a type of education of this level [in reference to the school his children attend] cannot be cost-free, it requires a cost in accordance with the rules established in our society, in the economy, in politics itself, a cost is required. And if we want to keep the same objectives that the school has and extend them to schools of lower resources we obviously have to have a perspective, a perspective based on entrepreneurship because entrepreneurship is part of the effort and contribution of each family, if not we would have to talk about a process of assistance but one that should not remain as an assistance approach but should turn into greater participation of the families” (Mr. Llerena, School A)

- *The ‘pragmatic’ position*

Finally, there is a third group which includes almost half of the parents interviewed, and who despite accepting that these costs (inequality and segregation) are not fair and “*it would be better if these differences did not exist*”, also accept that “*that is the system*”. That is, they accept both the existence of a highly stratified educational system and the fact of paying for education as a natural state of affairs:

*“It’s unfair but it’s true, there are good, mediocre and poor-quality schools”
(Mr. Porton, School B)*

“But look, in Lima alone there are eight thousand schools, a part of which are state schools. Some of them have interesting innovations and other private schools like this one [son’s school], and they aren’t like Markham! [one of the most expensive, exclusive and prestigious private schools in Lima], which is far better and in that I think we feel we’re a little less, why? Because they offer other things and they have the chance to do the International Baccalaureate for example, but we can’t do it here (...) So I always think that there’s going to be better and there’s going to be worse” (Mrs. Llerena, School A)

As in the previous groups, the ‘pragmatists’ are clear about their position in this segmented system (as Mrs. Llerena states ‘*there’s always going to be better and there’s going to be worse*’) but rather than this creating a problem for them, they apparently assume that the educational field is like that. Perhaps, owing to the marked segregation and stratification of Peruvian society they do not consider it strange that it should be “naturally” expressed and reflected in the education system. In these cases, as Halsey et al (1997 cited by Robertson and Lauder 2001) suggest, “the increasing emphasis on choice and individual success seems to leave out questions of equity and social cohesion, as those who are already in advantageous positions appear to be able to make better choices and use of educational opportunities”.

However, assuming this position that portrays RMC families as decidedly self-interested and calculating in pursuing their social advantage can be very simplistic. Although the RMC’s position is influenced by the ‘market ethic’ that promotes the individualism of the school consumer and also contributes to the destruction of collective social relations and commitments¹⁷⁸ (Ball 2003), as Ball himself suggests, a better understanding is necessary of how RMC families ‘prioritise their commitments to others, or how they reconcile conflicting demands arising from these priorities’ (Jordan, Redley and James 1994:4 cited by Ball 2003). Similar to what was found by these authors, in the interviews with RMC parents ‘when there was a clash between their political principles and the best interests of their children, they should put the family first’. This is on the base of the three positions analyzed in the previous section although each one assumes it in different forms (critical/resigned, quandary and pragmatic positions). As Ball (2003:114) concludes they “all act within unclear and contradictory values systems which are complexly and unevenly related to their social practices”.

¹⁷⁸ In relation to this, as was earlier argued in the context of this study, the increasing number of families who opt out of state services seems to undermine the kind of collective action that, it could be argued, is necessary to generate the sort of collective and state commitment required to improve the state education system (Arnove et al. 2007, Balarin 2011, Bello 2011, Vergara 2013).

Conclusion. This chapter has sought to show how the rising middle class disposition for individual responsibility in the provision of education not only responds to a class formation process and their trajectory of ascendant social mobility as was analyzed in the previous chapter. The rise of this disposition is also arguably influenced by the historical weakness and exclusionary nature of the Peruvian state with this social group, reinforced by the prevalence of the political economy of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on markets and its encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains. Foucault's concept of governmentality has been used to explain how the rationality and prevalent practices of a specific form of socio-political organization, such as neo-liberalism, lead to the establishment of a concomitant discourse that permeates and gives rise to a dominant common sense through which subjects interpret, live in, and understand the world.

The RMC parents' discourse where they conceive themselves "not as citizens with claims on the state but as self-enterprising citizen-subjects who are obligated to emerge as entrepreneurs of themselves" (Ong 2006:14) is analysed as evidence of the interiorization of particular aspects of the neo-liberal discourse (the entrepreneurial culture¹⁷⁹). The rationale that underlies this seems to be 'you can do it on your own, you don't need the State' which, in the RMC's case, is complemented with the association between becoming an 'autonomous' subject and the probability of emerging. It is opposed to maintaining dependency on the state and reproducing poor living conditions. Under this logic the services provided by the State are understood as residual institutions for those that are not able to pay, for those who lack a family that may truly take care of them, that is, these are services for the poor.

The particular configuration of governmentality in Peru, that is, the different context, conditions and ways in which particular aspects of the neo-liberal subject have emerged in the case of the Peruvian RMC in comparison with those that arise in western and liberal contexts is also highlighted. Here I argue that it is in the domain of government and of citizenship, each exerting an influence on the other, that this entrepreneurial culture is established. It is not the state that imposes, citizens also exert an active role in incorporating a specific common sense that emerges and is validated in particular widespread practices.

Finally, an analysis is also made of how the parents' discourse and practices in relation to the education of their children are enfolded and animated by market principles (such as conceiving education as an investment and consumer good, the constraint of choice posed

¹⁷⁹ It includes a spirit of success, internal motivation, the tracing of goals and persistence in their achievement despite adverse conditions

by the families' purchasing power, the use of exit, voice and loyalty mechanisms). This seeks to show how much this kind of neo-liberal discourse is internalized and what positions emerge in relation to the ethics that the education market aims to legitimize. Evident in the parents' account is the tendency to define school choice as a commitment to an individual morality and sense of ethics rather than a sense of social responsibility and civic engagement with others.

CONCLUSIONS

The initial concern for this research was to understand the paradox of how despite the favourable context of a country that had experienced continuous economic growth for almost ten years, there was both such little public expenditure and no effective and sustainable intervention to improve education on the part of the state or society. Different possible causes were identified mainly regarding the inadequacy of the state in managing social policies and as provider of education services. In order to complete the picture, I also explored the demand side. Unlike other countries, where the middle class has been active in various ways in influencing and putting pressure on the state to improve the quality of education and affecting education policies in their own interests (Ball 2003, Loayza et al. 2012), in Peru no social class has had a pivotal role in advancing the cause of better education. Exploring the weak role exerted by the demand side to call for improvements in the educational system, I focused my interest on the main users of educational services: the families. Here I examined on an important phenomenon that has been occurring in school education in the last decade: a significant migration from state to private education, especially among RMC families.

The relation of this phenomenon with my initial concerns is that the increasing parental practice of opting out of state services and enrolling their children in the private sector seems to undermine the kind of collective action that, it could be argued, is necessary to generate the sort of state commitment required to improve the state educational system. In consequence, a vicious circle is created because people have more incentives to switch to private schools (Arnove et al. 2007, Balarin 2011, Bello 2011, Vergara 2013). In this perspective, understanding the why of this shift from state to private schooling offered some light on the possible causes of the aforementioned paradox. In spite of the importance of the new RMC, it has received little attention so far. The lack of studies that may allow a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon and which may contribute to a serious debate regarding the Peruvian education system has prompted this research.

A first attempt to explain this transition from public to private schools was based on the crisis in state schooling which would disqualify it as an option for the aspirations of emerging

families. The systematic neglect of the Peruvian State in the provision of a good state education reinforced this argument and also facilitated a growing sense among citizens that private is better *per se*. In this context the option for private education was rather obvious and based on common sense. At this point, it was necessary to break with common sense and to take a step back from what appeared to occur naturally. This permitted a re-examination of the phenomenon in spite of its obviousness, as an attempt to understand the processes that have led to it becoming 'natural' as well as to reveal the hidden dynamics that underlie it (Balarin 2006). Moreover, there was some evidence related to the high heterogeneity of the private school offer that revealed that you cannot assume that all private schools, merely because they exist, are good. High dispersion in the higher returns to private education (Ñopo, 2007) as well as the fact that state schools performed better than private ones in the National Assessments (ECE) in peripheral districts (UMC-MED 2012, 2013) reflect wider heterogeneity within the private system.

Thus, although the crisis in state education influenced the RMC option for private education and the individual assumption of responsibility for the provision of educational services, this explanation proved insufficient. In this concluding chapter, I synthesize my key arguments and findings in an attempt to demonstrate how the practice of school choice is not based on simplistic assumptions about school quality. School choice is part of an educational project that covers a much larger area than schooling (though the latter always remain central). Rather, this practice in the case of the sample of Peruvian RMC needs to be understood as a complex constellation of habitus formation processes, social class mobility, the prevalence and influence of a neo-liberal discourse, an exclusionary state and the emergence of self-enterprising citizens. In order to construct a fuller understanding of this phenomenon this research has rested on Bourdieu's multilevel explanatory scheme that has habitus as a central and 'hinge' concept. However, following an eclectic perspective, other conceptual frameworks have been considered in order to provide complementary insights for the understanding of the habitus formation process. Particular emphasis has been placed on the Foucauldian concept of governmentality as an approach for structuring subjectivities to explain the effect of the prevalence of both a historically absent state and a neo-liberal discourse in the way habitus is constructed.

Illuminating a better understanding of the RMC practice to opt out of state services and assume individual responsibility for the provision of educational services

I argued that the choice of opting out from state services was expressing a RMC habitus to assume individual responsibility in the provision of educational services that led to the option

for private schools being incorporated as the kind of decision made 'automatically'. In this perspective, the objectives of the study were, in the first place, to explore RMC views and discourse concerning state and private education in their process of school choice in order to ascertain their collective disposition towards education. Then, the objective focused on how the habitus had been formed. I argued that the formation of this disposition was strongly influenced, on the one hand, by the rapid process of transformation of this rising sector characterized by upward social mobility where the preference for private schools enhances their current position within a highly segmented and exclusive social hierarchy. Since the process of social mobility has not been the same for all RMC fractions, I contrast the formation of habitus in two fractions: the consolidated and the precarious RMC. Its inclusion illustrates the importance of background social class locations in shaping current practices and the habitus formation process. On the other hand, in a complementary way, I maintained that this formation was also influenced by the prevalence of a dominant 'common sense' where RMC parents "conceive themselves not as citizens with claims on the state but as self-enterprising citizens who are obligated to emerge as entrepreneurs of themselves" (Ong 2006:14). Here I have used the Foucauldian concept of governmentality as an approach for structuring subjectivities. In what follows, I seek to present the key arguments and findings in relation to the main questions and objectives of the study using a comparative and intergenerational view.

In the exploration of the RMC discourse concerning state and private education in their process of school choice I found a strong rejection of state schools as an alternative for their children to reach the optimistic repertory of imaginary futures that the parents have for them, the most common aspiration being that their children should be successful professionals. As Ball et al. (1995) suggests, the choice of primary school represents the first of several strategic decisions involved in the construction of their child's school career with the main objective that they can go on to higher education. However, 'only certain types of schooling are considered an effective means of storing value for future realization' (Ball 1997:16). For parents from both fractions only private education fulfils this expectation. Thus, it is the break with the family tradition of state schooling which the parents and grandparents had gone through, and the new option of private education that appears as a reconversion strategy to maintain class stability or provide the chance of some upward mobility. State schools become the unacceptable 'other', by definition unable to deliver or ensure their aspirations (Ball 2003).

There is a complex, subtle and entrenched group of reasons and dispositions that explain the option of RMC parents for private schools. Consistently evident was the strategic

orientation of the parents in making their choices. These were powerfully influenced by the parents' prior experiences of poor quality state schooling which led them to reject the idea of exposing their children to a similar kind of education. However, there are different criteria that parents weigh up in order to maximize the benefits of their choice within a highly stratified private offer. These include not only the school's material conditions and affective atmosphere but also different aspects more directly related to educational processes and the development of skills which will make their children more competitive. From a comparative perspective, the parents from both RMC fractions as newcomers have used different criteria and strategies when searching for and choosing schools. However, the scope, priorities, and availability of resources of each have been different. For the precarious group the criteria that prevailed in their school choice was mainly based on seeking better conditions than those offered by state schools and not changing the way both family life and the practical business of managing life are organized. For this fraction what Bourdieu calls 'the choice of necessity', which usually characterizes the working class, still prevails. The consolidated group had higher and more varied expectations mainly concerned with seeking a school that provides a variety of opportunities so that their children may be better prepared for the future.

In conjunction with this rational-strategic approach involved in the school choice process, the parents' discourse also expressed strong emotional and cultural dimensions that speak of class identification and differentiation, their effort to establish the boundaries of the 'we', and the use of strategies of social closure to avoid 'the others'. In the process of school choice RMC parents clearly define the group which they wish to belong to as well as the group with which they do not wish to be associated, this latter mainly represented by the families that send their children to state schools. As Weininger (2005) postulates, this variety of practices of social identification, social closure, status and exclusivity cohere symbolically to form a whole, a kind of lifestyle that is an expression of habitus. Hence, RMC parents chose a private school in which the parents are truly concerned and actively involved in their children's education (specially the mothers), a school with a social mix mainly represented by people 'like them', a school whose prestige provides them with status and exclusivity, and, mainly in the case of the consolidated group, a school that is in line with and reinforces their class identity as entrepreneurial people.

The second objective of the research was focused on how this habitus has been formed. For the exploration of the habitus formation process I used a dynamic approach that assumes habitus as being the product of history, an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that

either reinforces or modifies its structure. The RMC habitus formation process in the sample under study showed how habitus has been subject to the transformation brought about by subsequent experiences within its trajectory of upward social mobility which enables conditions of living that are very different from the initial ones. The 'evolution' of the habitus shows how it has depended on social trajectories and has been strongly influenced by opportunities and constraints found by each generation, and also by each RMC fraction in their 'encounters with the outside world' (Di Maggio 1979). Throughout chapter six key narratives and important experiences gone through by each generation and each RMC fraction for the construction of habitus have been analysed showing the relation of immediate complicity between position and dispositions, and also the cumulative and transformative characteristics of the habitus.

While for the first generation (grandparents) the access to state school education was in itself the distinguishing condition and disposition that prevailed and was strongly influenced by the limited resources available for them in their initial stage as migrants arriving to the city, for the second generation (parents) the disposition for higher education played this distinctive disposition that meant the touchstone to becoming RMC. The availability of greater resources, especially financial capital, allowed this to occur. The narratives analysed showed how higher education was one of the maximum aspirations of the RMC and a common practice that underlined a set of dispositions formed through the strong messages that the parents' generation received since early childhood on the need to obtain a university degree in order to pull themselves out of poverty, achieve a higher standard of living and be 'someone' in life. This was also the result of experiencing the sacrifices made by their parents' generation owing to their scant education; the imputation of failure of those who did not decide on higher education; the clear support of the family and/or their immediate environment for this option. Hence, not doing so was virtually inconceivable as it was part of a normal biography. While this was a common pattern for the majority of families from the consolidated group, the situation was very different among the families from the precarious group. Only in a few cases was it possible to recognize a similar disposition for higher education; for the majority of them the need to survive made this option inconceivable. This shows how dispositions, which make up habitus, are the products of constraints that frame life experiences. Rather, the disposition for university studies was postponed in the families for the next generation (children).

The second generation also experienced the limitations of state education in terms of its quality and value in comparison with private education. The narratives revealed both real and symbolic differences that influenced the educational options and dispositions for the

children's generation demonstrating the cumulative and transformative characteristics of the habitus. For the children's generation, due to the fact that the families will have the financial means to pay for it, private education has been "naturally" chosen as one of the strategies for social reproduction. Private schools not only offer greater likelihood of their children going on to higher studies (the current aspiration for both fractions) but also play a significant role through social, cultural and symbolic capital, which may be accumulated and thus facilitate the construction of metaphorical qualities or status. It is important to highlight that the transformation of RMC habitus for this generation not only involves the change in the disposition from state to private school provision but also a change in a set of socialization patterns, tastes and preferences which cohere symbolically to form a whole, a kind of 'lifestyle' different to that which characterized the previous generation (Weininger 2005). This system of dispositions is partially shared by both RMC fractions, but some of the dispositions are exclusive to the consolidated group demonstrating how differences in social trajectories influence the formation of dispositions.

For the third generation the disposition for private schooling is complemented by a greater presence of the parents in their children's upbringing and the option for an exclusive or almost exclusive maternal dedication to the children's education as a new habitus that replaces the previous one mainly focused on their dedication to domestic tasks, their children's upbringing and their capacity to supplement income provision. This is shared by both RMC fractions and reflects how the relative weight of economic capital accumulation is supplemented by an investment in cultural capital where the potential income that could be generated by the mother is 'sacrificed' in order to boost the accumulation of education and cultural capital.

Additionally, in the consolidated group new dispositions include the value of entrepreneurialism as a class identity mark that parents also seek in the school in what may be called an alignment between class habitus and school habitus. Together with the financial capital they have accumulated, they have also developed high self-esteem as a result of having risen thanks to their own efforts. Finally, the active participation of children in after-school activities that provide them with skills, tastes and familiarity with social rules to facilitate their transition and sense of inclusion in future social settings, especially at prestigious private universities. Parents expect that their children will be able to feel sure about what to do and how to behave, that is, have a clear 'feel for the game'.

Although the perspective of the process of class formation has been crucial to understanding the formation of the habitus, the disposition of RMC parents to assume individual

responsibility for the provision of education services has also been influenced by the broader context of the political and economic ideology and practices to which this social sector have had sustained exposure, and by their particular relationship with the Peruvian State. The examination of how these social structures generate particular dispositions (that is, the concept of social embodiment) confronted me with one of the main concerns with respect to Bourdieu's theory of habitus: the circularity attributed to this 'dispositional' theory (Nash 2002). Regarding this point, I found Foucault's concept of governmentality very useful as a potential route for structuring subjectivities because this allows an understanding of how the process of social embodiment occurs. This is explained by Olssen et al. (2004), who following Foucault posit that the prevalence of a specific form of socio-political organization such as the neo-liberal state, is linked to the establishment of a concomitant discourse that permeates and gives rise to a new dominant common sense through which agents interpret, live in, and understand the world.

I have argued that in the case of the Peruvian RMC, the construction of this subjectivity is influenced by the historical weakness and exclusionary practice of the Peruvian state towards this social sector, reinforced by the political economy of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on markets and encouragement of entrepreneurial models in a variety of social domains¹⁸⁰. Both have led to the establishment of a concomitant discourse according to which RMC parents conceive themselves "not as citizens with claims on the state but as self-enterprising citizen-subjects who are obligated to emerge as entrepreneurs of themselves" (Ong 2006:14). In examining this route for structuring subjectivities throughout chapter 7, I have considered the importance of understanding the nature of governmental rationality operating in a dialectical manner in the domains of government and citizenship with each exerting an influence on the other (Brown 2003, Lemke 2007). Likewise, I have also placed emphasis on the particular context, conditions and ways in which the dominant discourse surrounding these particular aspects of neo-liberal citizens have emerged¹⁸¹.

According to the experiences of the state expressed in the parents' narratives from both fractions, the historical sedimentations accumulated in their bodies are ways "in which one is told that one should govern oneself" (Binkley 2009:76). Or at least that one should succeed through one's own efforts. Similar to other emerging social sectors, the Peruvian RMC has emerged through their own efforts, work and willpower. It is possible to argue that the

¹⁸⁰ It has broadly developed into the situational chapter 2 in the overview of the Peruvian State and the nature of its relationship with the society, and particularly with the rising middle class sector along its process of formation and consolidation

¹⁸¹ Which are clearly different from Western democracies

historical performance of the Peruvian State with this social group has generated a strong sense of distrust in relation to an absent or failed state, shared by the two RMC fractions, and their attempts to replace it by themselves become self-enterprising citizens. The logic that underlies seems to be 'you can do it on your own, you do not need the state' (Cotler 2013), a call for subjects to become autonomous individuals.

This was reinforced by the prevalence of the political economy of neoliberalism that extended and disseminated market values and led to the consolidation of a social concept of entrepreneurialism as mainstream thinking. I have showed how the spreading of entrepreneurial culture in Peru has occurred as a result of both state intervention through institutional forms of self-government, and also in response to the emergence of individual and collective practices of entrepreneurialism in which the population is actively involved. In this sense, I have mentioned the large number of entrepreneurial initiatives promoted and awarded by the business community, citizens and NGOs; the constant discussion of entrepreneurial models; the promotion of entrepreneurial models in the media and the boom in inspirational literature). Thus, it is in the area of government and citizenship, each exerting an influence on the other that this entrepreneurial discourse and culture is installed as evident and indestructible¹⁸².

Finally, I have also found in the parents' narratives another central element in the structuring of subjectivities, especially emphasised by the consolidated group. That is, the association between becoming an 'autonomous' and entrepreneurial subject and the probability of emerging (expressed in their self-description as 'progressive' people). The RMC parents contrast themselves with 'conformist' people to whom they attribute a lack of will and passivity. As Portocarrero (2000:56) affirms, "there is a tendency to suppose that aid to the needy becomes a way of perpetuating their condition and impeding their development. That is to say, aid can plunge them into the abyss of failure". The logic that prevails in both fractions is that the services provided by the state are understood as residual institutions for those that are not able to pay, for those who lack a family that may truly take care of them. That is, these are services for the poor. According to this perspective, using these services - the state ones - not only condemns one to a greater likelihood of services of poorer standards but, worse, to continue in conditions of poverty and exclusion. Thus the prevalence of this 'common sense' 'against the state' would explain the reasons why the RMC has not put greater pressure on the state for high quality education in a service that

¹⁸² I have also argued that, how it occurs with some Asian governments, also in Peru there are differential treatments of populations, and the RMC has been considered as a population amenable to governmentalization

they reject precisely because it comes from the state. Instead they are withdrawing from state schools and opting for private education.

Contributions to the theory and the study of habitus

This study of parental school choice has explored Bourdieu's notion of habitus from an empirical perspective 'testing' this concept in a particular setting: the process of educational choice in a sample of the Peruvian RMC. With this I hope to have contributed to its theoretical validity (from the habitus) as a generative mechanism of practice. Following what Crompton and Scott (2005) suggest that there is "a continuing need for this kind of empirical work to develop the conceptual framework", the work with the Bourdieurian analytical scheme in which habitus is the central explanatory concept has not just consisted in "applying an old model to a new setting and showing that it works as expected" (Wheten 1989:493). The practical reality under study presented complexities that solely a Bourdieurian approach was not able to incorporate and explain. As already noted in chapter four, it was not the case of abandoning the model, but of developing it. This meant, on the one hand, emphasizing the transformative approach in Bourdieurian work that is better known for its central interest in social reproduction. On the other hand, it was also necessary to complement the Bourdieurian model with new insights for a better understanding of the structuring of subjectivities in the formation of habitus working with the discursive structures proposed by Foucault.

In relation to the first, I argue that given that change has been at the core of this study – in the transformation of the RMC habitus across generations, in turn, within a changing context of ascendant social mobility for this social sector – the approach to the Bourdieurian model has been more centred on the principles of transformation than reproduction. As Nash (2002:274) states, in Bourdieu's theory "reproduction is achieved because social members internalize the 'rules of the game' and so adopt practices that ensure their 'unconscious' replication" (being the habitus crucial in the process of feeling like a fish in water). However, Bourdieu also refers to the dynamic and temporal character of the habitus as well as the complex interplay between past and present that allows the influence of the social trajectory in the habitus' transformation to be explained. Bourdieu explicates that the lack of fit between habitus and field facilitates important transitions to recovering the 'feel for the game' and implies modifying the habitus. Although numerous studies in relation to the formation of habitus include the analysis of habitus transformation, this usually occurs at a particular point in time, at a conjuncture. However, few studies have worked with a dynamic understanding

of habitus across a generation. This research has been an attempt to do so across generations, which provides a broader perspective of the continuous re-structuring process of the habitus strongly influenced by the social trajectories of the agents.

In relation to the structuring of subjectivities, another critical consideration in the formation of the habitus is the embodiment of social structures, being crucial to explain how these social structures are internalized. At this point, I argued that Foucault's route of structuring subjectivities based on discursive structures could provide an adequate and powerful approach to understand how political-economic mentalities are incorporated in the formation of habitus¹⁸³. In the case of this study, I have shown how the rise of the individual disposition for the provision of educational services in the Peruvian RMC is also mediated by the establishment of a concomitant discourse that permeates and gives rise to a dominant common sense through which they - the RMC - conceive themselves as entrepreneurs of themselves. Thus, the research has presented evidence of the potential of Foucault's approach of structuring subjectivities to explain the embodiment of salient political, economic and cultural formations for the construction of habitus.

Finally, I want to mention that the class practices and accounts of practices analysed throughout this research regarding the emphasis on the situated realizations for an approach to class, also constitute relevant contributions for a better understanding of the Peruvian RMC. As Ball (2003:175) argues "it is within these practices, in specific social fields, that individuals and families are aware of themselves and others as classed". In this perspective, the research has not set out to produce generalisations about class categorisations. It has not been concerned with the refinement of class categories but takes class practices as its core concern. This has been an attempt to return to an emphasis on lived realities, "the situated realizations of class and class reproduction" (Ball 2003:6). However, from a Realist perspective we can see the habitus adopted by the RMC as a generative mechanism which may explain more general data patterns as to the commitment of the RMC to private schooling.

¹⁸³ Although the Bourdieurian approach provides relevant notions and mechanisms to understand how social class structures are embodied in the formation of habitus, it does not allow an understanding of how political-economic mentalities are incorporated

Implications of the increase disposition for Private Education in the Peruvian Educational System. Exacerbating exclusion and inequity

One of the main purposes of this research was to contribute to the current debate about public and private education occurring in Peru taking into account the rapid growth of the private offer and enrolment as well as the enthusiasm for the different private and public-private initiatives in education promoted by the state and the business sector. As was already mentioned in the introductory chapter, to propose the debate reflecting a discourse that is based on “the illusion that private education and education markets are a panacea to avert national decline” (Lauder et al. 1999) is reductionist and highly simplistic. As this study concludes, the choice of school is not only, or even mainly, a response to a search for better school quality where the private school is considered better *per se*. This is a more complex, intricate and multi-determined process which needs to continue to be carefully and extensively studied regarding the particularities of the Peruvian system. This study has shown how the process of school choice is mediated by the influence of the class formation process, the formation of habitus and the prevalence of specific discourses about the relationship between the state and self-enterprising citizens.

The difficult but ‘successful’ trajectories of the sample of emergent families interviewed suggest that to a greater or lesser extent they have found a kind of school in the education market that they expect and are able to pay for according to their current socio-economic position, and that allows them to preserve their present class position or, at the very least, to protect them against any decisive downward movement. However, if we examine further the individual perspective and self-interest of the parents and regard the Peruvian education system as a whole, there are at least two concerns that I would like to stress in relation to the practice of school choice: the exacerbation and naturalization of social exclusion through the education system, and the negative impact on non-choosers.

In relation to the former, it is necessary to consider how the rapid and increasing process of transition to private schools reinforces and naturalizes wider processes of social exclusion where the hierarchy of schools in correspondence with the economic, social and cultural resources of the families contributes to the perpetuation and legitimation of social hierarchies¹⁸⁴. As Betts and Loveless (2005:13) argue “widespread choice will increase the variance in school quality, often to the detriment of less affluent families, while re-

¹⁸⁴ It is worth noticing that some authors such as Bello (2002), Bello and Villarán (2009) and De Belaunde (2011), note that inequalities and mechanisms for the reproduction of inequalities are also reproduced within the state education system itself.

segregating the nation's schools socioeconomically". The current circuits of schooling in the Peruvian system seem to clearly reflect this socio-economic segregation. And, as different studies reveal, the major purpose of the education market is not to build a more fair and generous education system, but to reconstruct a more differentiated and hierarchical system which will more closely aid social reproduction (Hatcher 1998, Ball 2003, Reay and Lucey 2004, Elacqua 2006). In any case, Albert and Cotler's assertion of 1977 is just as true more than 35 years later "the educational system permits the social mobility of some individuals without questioning the existing stratification".

Regarding the particular configuration of school choice in the Peruvian education system where choice is very far from notions of 'agency' and in fact is a marker of economic privilege (Reay and Lucey 2004) with very unequal patterns of choice, questions about social equity and justice arise. As Viteritti (2003 cited by Elacqua 2012:445) argues "an education system that provides choice to some and not others is inherently unfair, especially when the opportunity is determined by income". In this context more advantaged families choose higher quality schools, to the detriment of less affluent families whose children are left in segregated low-quality schools. This study shows how school segregation not only occurs in the private sector where, as Bello (2013) notes, "just like any other product on the market, in our country first, second, third or fourth class education, or even worse is bought depending on the size of the purchaser's wallet". But segregation is more marked between sectors where state schools clearly represent residual schools for those who are not able to pay. As Vergara (2013) states "state education is reserved solely for the poorest, harbouring the weakest citizens."

The narratives of the parents interviewed in this study offer suggestive evidence of the extent to which segregationist practices and dispositions are internalized, mainly in relation with state schools toward which parents have expressed their aversion, among other reasons, due to their social composition¹⁸⁵. These represent what Reay and Lucey (2004) call 'demonized' schools. Different studies demonstrate how the prevalence of these segregationist practices and the expansion of an education market system contribute to spirals of decline in state schools (Lauder et al. 1999, Reay and Lucey 2003, Betts and Loveless 2005, Elacqua 2006, Ñopo 2007). As Ñopo (2007) concludes "the presence of children from underprivileged households in the state-school classrooms, paired with the decrease in public spending, implies a reduction in the quality of learning in state schools. Likewise, the expansion of the private provision of educational services has meant that

¹⁸⁵ Both RMC parents' fractions prefer to choose schools with similar student demographics avoiding schools populated by children of lower social standing

children from less-underprivileged families were able to attend private rather than state schools. As a result, the socio-economic profile of state-school classrooms has deteriorated”¹⁸⁶.

Thus, the repercussion of individualistic and self-interested principles of the more advantaged in society, mainly expressed in the practices of ‘putting my children first’ (Ball 2003) on less economically, socially and culturally advantaged families challenges the public morality of the state. The fact is that the conditions of the Peruvian educational system do not guarantee that “choices will reflect broader public goals; they only ensure that parents’ choices will match parental preferences, whatever those preferences may be (...) but the success of any choice system must ultimately be evaluated on the basis of its responsiveness to the needs of both families and society” (Hamilton and Guin 2005:41). In relation to this I want to stress that it is not my intention to identify or indeed ‘blame’ individual social actors as the perpetrators of an unfair system which systematically reproduces inequality. My goal is to examine how all the current system of choices is exacerbating exclusion and inequity, and stress the need to include these concerns in the debate.

Regarding this perspective, the debate should not therefore be focused on who should provide education, polarising the discussion between the “demonized” state system and exalting the private system as good *per se*, nor should it focus solely on the challenge of improving the quality and the curriculum. The debate should put the spotlight on: How to prevent the marketization of schools from intensifying and deepening social and class divisions? How to revert the socioeconomic segregation that afflict the educational system? How to challenge the status quo? Are there ways of ‘doing the best for your child’ which do not harm other people’s children? How to promote a social mix in state and private schools? What should the state school be like so that families may once again consider it an option? Is it possible to change the social imaginary with respect to a demonized state school and how can this be done? However, as Ball (2003:179) observes “the values and incentives of market policies give legitimation and impetus to certain actions and commitments – enterprise, competitions, excellence – and inhibit and delegitimize others – social justice, equity, tolerance”.

¹⁸⁶ As Betts and Loveless (2005:8) argue “choice, by inducing outflows of talented students, could hurt the quality of the student peer group at underperforming schools which, in turn, could hurt the academic achievement of those students left behind, based on a growing body of evidence suggesting that students learn from one another”.

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Appendix 1. Schools and Localities

School A. Los Olivos District



The school building is across from the park



School A's Classroom



School A's Classroom





The Neighborhood around School A



School B. Villa Maria del Triunfo District



The blue building is the School B located in a slope and small street





A classroom of School B used by a discussion group with parents



An anniversary celebration' activity in the yard of School B



The Neighborhood around School B



A Panoramic View of School B's Neighborhood



Appendix 2. Sample of Parents for Discussion Groups

Table 13: Sample of Parents for Discussion Groups. SCHOOL A in Los Olivos

No.	Name	Occupation	Profession	Education	Age	Place of birth	Monthly income	Housing	# Children	Grade	Children's name	In school since
1	Mrs. Escobal	Housewife	Administrator	State Univ	38	Ancash	\$776 -	Parent's house	4	Primary + Secondary	Fabrizio, Sergio, Angel, Javier	2006
2	Mr. Escobal	Business in private sector	Administrator	State Univ	40	Lima	\$1160					
3	Mrs. Falcón	Housewife	Cosmetology	Higher Technical Education	40	Piura	\$1161 -	Own house	2	Primary	Andrea, Julia	
4	Mr. Falcón	University Teacher	Economist	State Univ	41	Lima	\$1550					
5	Mrs. Miranda	Housewife + freelance	Accountant	State Univ	48	Lima	over \$1551	Rent house	2	Primary + Secondary	Juan Carlos, Ximena	2006
6	Mr. Miranda	Accountant in Public Sector	Accountant	State Univ	50	Chiclayo						
7	Mrs. Benites	Accountant in Private Sector	Accountant	State Univ	39	Lima	\$776 - \$1160	Own house	2	Primary	Lucia, Alejandro	2007
8	Mrs. Llerena	Housewife + freelance	Biologist	State Univ	40	Piura	over \$1551	Own house	1	Primary	Esteban	2007
9	Mr. Llerena	Project Manager NGO	Biologist	State Univ	42	Lima						
10	Mrs. Reyes	Housewife + secretary		Vocational Education	46	Lima	\$776 - \$1160	Own house	2	Primary + Secondary	Bryan, Javier	2007
11	Mrs. Chura	Independent carrier	Administrator	State Univ	42	Lima	over \$1551	Own house	1	Primary	Leonardo	2006
12	Mr. Chura	Independent carrier	Administrator	State Univ	41	Ica						
13	Mrs. Rojas	Housewife		Higher Technical Education	41	Lima	\$389 - \$775	Own house	1	Primary	Aixa	2012
14	Mr. Rojas	Administrator	Administrator	Private Univ	44	Lima						
15	Mrs. Mamani	Independent business	Manager	State Univ (Incomp)	37	Puno	over \$1551	Own house	4	Primary + Secondary	Maggi, Sara, Emanuel, Daniel	2010
16	Mr. Mamani	Independent business		Secondary	40	Puno						

Table 14: Sample of Parents for Discussion Groups. SCHOOL B in Villa Maria del Triunfo

No	Name	Occupation	Profession	Education	Age	Place of birth	Monthly income	Housing	# Children	Grade	Children's name	In school since
1	Mrs. Santos	Housewife	Physiotherapist	Vocational Education	29	Moyobamba	\$350 - \$750	Parent's house	2	Primary	Emmanuel, Gabriel	2011
2	Mr. Santos	Lawyer	Lawyer	State Univ	37	Lima						
3	Mrs. Castro	Housewife + medicine seller	Seller	Vocational Education	30	Lima	\$350 - \$750	Shared house	1	Primary	Fabian	2010
4	Mr. Castro	Computer support	Computer technician	Higher Technical Education	40	Lima						
5	Mrs. Porton	Housewife	-	Secondary	45	Lima	\$350 - \$750	Own house	1	Primary	Lorena	2011
6	Mr. Porton	Storage Labourer	-	Vocational Education (Incom)	33	Ancash						
7	Mrs. Zarate	Housewife	-	Secondary	28	Sullana	\$750 - \$1550	Shared house	2	Primary	Jose, Juan	2011
8	Mrs. Yuria	Housewife	-	Secondary	41	Ayacucho	\$350 - \$750	Shared house	1	Primary	Leandro	2011
9	Mrs. Meza	Housewife	-	Vocational Education (Incom)	38	Lima	\$350 - \$750	Rented house	2	Primary	Estefany, Moises	2011
10	Mr. Meza	Communication Technician	-	Secondary	48	Lima						
11	Mrs. Tejada	Housewife	-	Secondary	39	Lima	\$350 - \$750	Shared house	1	Primary	Matias	2010
12	Mr. Tejada	Independent worker	-	Secondary	38	Lima						
13	Mrs. Loza	Housewife	-	Secondary	36	Lima	\$350 - \$750	Shared house	1	Primary	Magali	2010

In Grey: Families that also participated in In-depth interviews

Appendix 3. Sample of Parents for In-depth Interviews

**Table 15: Sample of Parents for In-depth Interviews
- Occupational Background and Education Qualifications -**

Name	Occupation	Profession	Education
SCHOOL A - Los Olivos			
Mrs. Miranda	Housewife + freelance (as seller and/or photographer)	Accountant	Undergraduate Studies in State University
Mr. Miranda	Accountant in Public Sector	Accountant	Undergraduate Studies in State University + Post-degree diploma
Mrs. Llerena	Housewife + freelance (environment projects in schools)	Biologist	Undergraduate Studies in State University + Master degree (in progress)
Mr. Llerena	Project Manager in Environmental NGO	Biologist	Undergraduate Studies in State University + Post-degree diploma
Mrs. Chura	House worker + co-manager of their Transportation Micro Business	Administrator	Undergraduate Studies in State University
Mr. Chura	Manager of their Transportation Micro Business	Administrator	Undergraduate Studies in State University
Mrs. Mamani	House worker + support in managing of their Shoes' factory)	Theology Teacher	Theological Studies in Faculty (in progress)
Mr. Mamani	Manager of their Shoes' factory Medium Business	---	Secondary Education
SCHOOL B - Villa Maria del Triunfo			
Mrs. Soto	House worker + Physiotherapist (practice)	Physiotherapist	Vocational Education
Mr. Soto	Lawyer in a law firm	Lawyer	Undergraduate Studies in State University
Mrs. Castro	House worker + freelance (as drug company saleswoman)	Drug Company Saleswoman	Incomplete Vocational Education (Sales)
Mr. Castro	Computer System Supporter	Computer and electric technician	Higher Technical Education
Mrs. Porton	House worker + freelance (as Cleaning Assistant)	---	Secondary Education
Mr. Porton	Storehouse Semi-Routine Occupation	---	Incomplete Vocational Education (bartender)
Mrs. Meza	House worker	Secretarial Studies	Incomplete Vocational Education
Mr. Meza	Phone Support Technician	---	Secondary Education

**Table 16: Sample of Parents for In-depth interviews
- Demographic Origins, income and housing -**

Name	Age	Place of birth	Parents' place of birth	Monthly income	Housing	# Children
SCHOOL A - Los Olivos						
Mrs. Miranda	48	Lima	Cusco (A/S)	over \$1551	Rent house	2
Mr. Miranda	50	Chiclayo	Ancash (A/N) Chiclayo (Co/N) Chiclayo (Co/N)			
Mrs. Llerena	40	Piura	Amazonas (J/N)	over \$1551	Own house	1
Mr. Llerena	42	Lima	Amazonas (J/N) Junín (A/C) Ica (Co/S)			
Mrs. Chura	42	Lima	Lima Prov	over \$1551	Own house	1
Mr. Chura	41	Ica	Lima Prov Ayacucho (A/S) Puno (A/S)			
Mrs. Mamani	37	Puno	Puno (A/S)	Over \$1551	Own house	4
Mr. Mamani	40	Puno	Puno (A/S) Puno (A/S) Puno (A/S)			
SCHOOL B - Villa Maria del Triunfo						
Mrs. Santos	29	Moyo-bamba	Moyobamba (J/N)	over \$550	Share house	2
Mr. Santos	37	Lima	Moyobamba (J/N) Huánuco (A/C) Cajamarca (A/N)			
Mrs. Castro	30	Lima	Cajamarca (A/N)	over \$550	Share house	1
Mr. Castro	40	Lima	Cajamarca (A/N) Ayacucho (A/S) Ayacucho (A/S)			
Mrs. Porton	45	Lima	Cusco (A/S)	Income range \$370 - \$550	Share house	1
Mr. Porton	33	Ancash	Cusco (A/S) Ancash (A/N) Ancash (A/N)			
Mrs. Meza	38	Lima	Lima (Co/C)	Income range \$370 - \$550	Rent house	2
Mr. Meza	48	Lima	Lima (Co/C) Cusco (A/S) Lima Provincia (Co/C)			

A= Andean Co=Coast J=Jungle N=North C=Centre S=South Chyo= Chiclayo Amaz=Amazonas
Ayac=Ayacucho

(I)= Incomplete In White= Families of Professional Workers In Grey = Families of Managerial Background

Appendix 4. Guide for Discussion Groups and In-depth Interviews

Guide for Discussion Groups **Process of School Choice**

Presentation of the researcher and the research objectives

Presentation of the discussion session

Good evening mothers and fathers. We want to thank you for the effort you made to come here to speak about the process of school choice for your children. As stated in the invitation, we are going to talk about different issues for about two hours. There are three important points I would like to mention before starting (the freedom to express themselves, the need for everyone to participate in the discussion and to listen to each other, and the use of information solely for the purposes of the research).

Introduction

Memories of your own school

As we are going to talk about education. I would like us to take a few minutes to remember your own school experiences. Please close your eyes, look back and remember your childhood. What do you most remember about your school? What different images come to mind?

[Chance for three or four parents to present their school memories]

I. The value of school

Images of their children in the future

Now I would like you to think of your children. Just like a little while ago we went back to the past, now I would like you to imagine the future. How do you envisage your children in 15 years' time? What will they be like, what will they be doing, what will they have achieved? Take a few minutes to imagine all this and draw your ideas. Do the exercise in pairs...

Give time for each pair to fasten the flip charts and present their children in the future. Discussion on *what is necessary so that they may achieve this future*.

In order for your children to achieve this in the future (point to the flip charts) what does it depend on? Could you mention two or three things that you consider very important in order to achieve this? Why do you consider them important?

II. School "choice"

Narratives of the process of school choice

I would like you to take a few minutes in pairs to remember the process of choosing this school for your children. Do you remember the process? What aspects did you take into

account? Who participated? How did you feel? Think about that and talk about it among yourselves. We are going to give you a flip chart so that you can tell us your stories.

Give each family time to present their story. Discussion topics:

- The alternatives there were in choosing the school (several alternatives / only option / inclusion (or not) of state schools)
- Who participated in the process of choosing
- What procedures were followed and why these procedures were followed
- Criteria or reasons considered for the choice and why these are important
- How they felt, what their feelings were during the process of choosing

III. Roles and responsibilities in the provision of educational services

Up to now we have talked about your children, your families and your decision as to what school to send them to. During the final part of the conversation I would like us to talk about who is responsible for education in our country. [This activity is carried out as a roundtable discussion with all the mothers and fathers]

1. Why are many mothers and fathers opting to send their children to private schools instead of demanding improvements in state schools and that their children should receive a better education there? (payment of taxes)
2. What would have to happen for a state school to become a feasible alternative in their choice? What should state schools be like?
3. There are other countries such as Chile for example, where people (students, parents, teachers...) take action and go out on the streets demanding that the government improve education. Do you think something like that could happen in Peru? Would you take to the streets to demand improvements in education? Why?

Final activity:

Presentation and discussion of scenarios of three educational systems with different options: only state (no choice), state and private (with few alternatives), state and private (with broad range of alternatives). Which educational system would you like your children to be in? Why? Advantages and disadvantages.

Guide for In-depth Interview

I. Families' Educational Trajectories

I want to ask you to tell me about *your experience of education*. The best way to do this would be for you to start from the little child that you once were until you were an adult. You can take your time in doing this, because everything that is important for you is of interest to me.

In the narrative enquire about the factors that influenced their educational options and choices, how satisfied or not they were, and the main benefits and limitations of their educational options.

Now I want to ask you to tell me how *your parents' experiences of education*

Finally I want to ask you to tell me how *your children's experiences of education*

How different have the education experiences of your generation and your parents' generation been? And between your generation and your children's generation?

II. Experiences of the State

I want to ask you to tell me about relevant experiences, positive and/or negative, with state services in health

I want to ask you to tell me about relevant experiences, positive and/or negative, with state services in housing

I want to ask you to tell me about relevant experiences, positive and/or negative, with services in public transportation

I want to ask you to tell me about relevant experiences, positive and/or negative, with state services in security